

THE *11 Kg*
WHOLE WORKS

OF THE REVEREND

ROBERT MILLAR, A. M.

LATE MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN PAISLEY.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

PAISLEY:

PRINTED BY JOHN NEILSON, FOR ROBERT REID.

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THE
WHOLE WORKS

OF THE REVEREND

ROBERT MILAR, A.M.

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN FAIRFAX

IN EIGHT VOLUMES

VOL. IV

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH
UNDER THE
OLD TESTAMENT,
FROM

The Creation of the World :

WHEREIN ALSO

The Affairs and Learning of Heathen Nations, before the Birth of CHRIST, and the State of the Jews, from the BABYLONISH Captivity to the present Time, are particularly considered.

To which is subjoined,

A DISCOURSE

TO PROMOTE THE CONVERSION

OF THE JEWS TO CHRISTIANITY.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT CHURCH.

CHAP. III. (Continued.)

The History of the Jews under the Grecian Empire of Alexander the Great and his Successors, especially in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, where the affairs of these nations are also explained.

§ 13. **A**NTIOCHUS Sidetes king of Syria, having notice of the murder of Simon and his two sons *, as above related, came into Judea with a great army; and having over-run the country, and driven Hyrcanus out of the field, shut him up with all his forces † in Jerusalem, and there besieged him with a great army, divided into seven camps, whereby he enclosed him all round, and environed the whole with two deep ditches of circumvallation and contravallation, so as none of the besieged could escape; nor could any body bring any relief in to them: So that when John Hyrcanus sent some unprofitable mouths out of the city, which could only consume the stores, but do nothing for the defence

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of

* Ant. C. 135. Jo. Hyrcan. 1. † Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 16.

of the place, they were so pent up between the town wall, and these ditches, that he was forced to take them in again, to prevent their perishing by famine. Thus the siege went on, till the time of the Jews feast of tabernacles, which was always kept in the middle of the first autumnal moon. At that time Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus to ask a truce during the festival; which he not only granted, but also sent beasts, gold and silver, cups full of spices, and other things for the sacrifices. This gave Hyrcanus such a proof of the good nature of the king his adversary; and that he was not like, for impiety, to Antiochus Epiphanes, who by all means endeavoured to put contempt^b on the law of Moses, as Josephus, *l. c.* observes, that he took occasion to send another message for a treaty of peace; which was agreed to. And therein Hyrcanus having yielded, that the besieged should lay down their arms; that Jerusalem should be dismantled; and that tribute should be paid to Antiochus for the other towns he held out of Judea. On these terms peace was concluded. The king also demanded that the fortress at Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and a garrison received into it: But Hyrcanus minding what mischief the heathens had formerly done there, would not agree to this, but rather yielded to pay the king five hundred talents in room thereof. So much of these terms as could be presently executed, being fulfilled, and hostages given for performing the rest, one of which was a brother of Hyrcanus, the siege was raised, and peace restored to the whole land, nine months after the death of Simon.

^b See Vol. III. p. 341, & 347.

mon. That which moved Hyrcanus to agree, was the necessity that the Jews were reduced to by want of provisions; which being known to the besiegers, many of them advised the king to extirpate the whole nation, whom they called a wicked people, separate from all others^c: But it was owing to the clemency and piety of Antiochus Sidetes, that peace was agreed to upon the terms mentioned.

Of the five hundred talents promised by the peace, three hundred were paid down presently; and for the other two, time was allowed. Josephus tells an improbable story^d, "That Hyrcanus got three hundred talents out of the sepulchre of David; and that Herod the Great, long after this, digged out of it a great treasure^e." But 'tis not likely that so much dead stock should have remained during all the calamities that had passed over the Jews for nine hundred years, without being touched; nor that when the temple was plundered and burnt, with the city, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and afterwards spoiled by Antiochus Epiphanes, that should never have been meddled with. Nor is the story that Josephus tells in the preceding chapter much more probable, as the learned primate Usher^f, and others, have observed. The sum thereof is^g, "That Hyrcanus besieged Ptolemy Abubus in the castle of Dagon, not far from Jericho. Upon his approach, Ptolemy exposed Hyrcanus's mother and his brethren upon the battlements, whipping and tormenting them, and threatening to kill them, unless he

B 2 *Antiochus Sidetes would*

^c Joseph. lib. 13. cap. 16. Diod. Siculus in Eclogis, lib. 34. ^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 16. ^e Ibid. lib. 16. cap. 11. ^f Annales ad annum ante Christum 135. ^g Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 15.

§ *Wars and distress of John Hyrcanus.* Chap. III.

would raise the siege. His mother, without regard to her own sufferings, entreated her son to take vengeance on this wicked man; but at last his compassion to his mother made him protract the siege till the Sabbatical year came on; in which Abubus having rest, killed the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus, and then fled to Cotyla.^a But 'tis more likely he killed the father Simon and his two sons at the same time, as hath been already related.

In the first year of Hyrcanus, Matthias Aphlias, a priest of the course of Joarib, married a daughter of Jonathan, the late prince of the Jews, of whom was born Matthias Curtus; of this Matthias was born Josephus, who was the father of another Matthias, of whom was born Josephus the historian^b, in the first year of the Roman emperor Caligula, being the 37th after Christ's Incarnation.

Scipio Africanus, junior, going to the war of Numantium in Spain, Antiochus Sidetes sent thither to him very rich and magnificent presents, which he received publicly^c, while sitting on the tribunal, in the sight of his army, and ordered them to be delivered into the hands of the Quæstor, or treasurer of the army, for defraying the public charges of the war. It being then the temper of the Romans to do every thing in their power for the interest of the Commonwealth, without reserving any thing to themselves, but the honour of faithfully serving it. While this disposition continued, they prospered in their undertakings, but afterwards, when every one plundered

^a Josephi de vita sua. ^b Eodem Livii, lib. 57. ^c Ant. C. 134. Jo. Hyrcan. 2.

dered the public for self-interest, tyranny and all calamities came upon them.

§ 14. Attalus, king of Pergamus, going on in his foolish and wicked actions^a, took a fancy of employing himself in the trade of a founder; and projecting to make a brazen monument for his mother, while he laboured in the melting and working the brass, in a hot summer's day, he contracted a fever, of which he died^b in the seventh day; whereby his people had the happiness of being delivered from a horrid tyrant: For we have this account of him^c, That soon after he possessed the throne, he stained it with the blood of his near relations and best friends of his family, on pretence that they had caused the death of Stratonice his mother, who died of old age, or the death of Berenice his wife, who died of an incurable disease. Others he killed upon groundless suspicions, cutting off their wives, children and whole families. Which executions he did by the hands of mercenaries, whom he had hired out of barbarous nations. After this, he withdrew from public appearances, and putting on sordid apparel, without trimming, behaved himself like one condemned for some great crime; and neglecting the affairs of the government, he betook himself to his garden, where he digged the ground himself, and sowed it with poisonous and wholesome feeds, so as the bad infected the good; and sent them in presents to his friends. In these wild and cruel actions, he wore out the remainder of his life. At his death he left the

B 3

Romans

^a Justin, lib. 36. cap. 4. ^b Ant. C. 133. Jo Hyrcan. 3. ^c Justin, lib. 36. cap. 4. ^d Justin, lib. 36. cap. 4. ^e Diocl. Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 370.

Romans heirs of all his goods^a. By virtue of which will they seized the kingdom, and reduced it to the form of a province, called Proper Asia. But Aristonicus the next heir, did not tamely submit; and it cost the Romans the loss of Licinius Crassus, one of their consuls, and an army with him, and four years war, before they could thoroughly settle themselves in the possession of the country. And here ended the Pergamenian kingdom, which included once the greater part of the Lesser Asia, after it had continued during the succession of six kings.

§ 15. In the thirty-eight year of Ptolemy Euergetes II.^o, called also Physcon, Jesus the son of Sirach, a Jew of Jerusalem, coming into Egypt, and settling there, wrote or translated out of Hebrew into Greek, for the use of the Hellenistical Jews, the book of Jesus his grandfather, named in the Apocrypha Ecclesiasticus; which is a collection of sayings made by Jesus the grandfather, Sirach the son, and Jesus the grandson, in Greek; for the Hebrew original is now lost. Though there be many valuable moral sayings and precepts therein, yet there are such errors also, as plainly prove the book not to be canonical, nor of divine authority; particularly in chap. xxiv. 10. this author renders that text, Prov. viii. 22. *The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way; the Lord created me, taking ~~eternity~~ for ~~eternity~~*. In chap. xvi. 23. he makes the true Samuel after his death to speak to Saul; whereas it was only an apparition, or the devil called up by that wicked woman at Endor,

^a Florus, lib. 2. cap. 20. Populus Romanus honorum meorum hæres esto. Justin, lib. 36. cap. 4. Plutarchus in Gracchis. ^o Ecclesiasticus in Prologo, v. 9. * Ant. C. 132. Jo. Hyrcan. 4.

Endor, to represent Samuel. Also, by a very dangerous error in the book of Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 4,—10. expoundeth the prophesy in Malachi iv. 5, 6. of Elias himself to come before the Messiah; whereas it is evident from the New Testament, Luke i. 17. Mark ix. 11,—17. That this prediction is to be understood of John the Baptist, who came *in the spirit and power of Elias*. Besides, what safe sense do these words admit of, Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 15. *He that sinneth against his Maker, let him fall into the hands of the physicians?* And finally, this author, in his preface, ver. 6. craves pardon, *if he have not attained the sense of some words which he endeavoured to translate*; which is unbecoming the authority of a canonical writer. The Jews have now a book among them called, *The book of Ben Sira*^p; but any body who will compare it with that of Ecclesiasticus, will see no resemblance between the two, except in the authors names.

§ 16. Demetrius Nicator having been several years detained as a prison in Hyrcania, by order of the king of Parthia, Antiochus Sidetes, his brother, under pretence of effectuating his deliverance, marched with a powerful army into the east, against *^a Phraates the Parthian. The army consisted of above eighty thousand men appointed for war: But the instruments of luxury that followed them, as sutlers, cooks, confectioners, musicians, stage-players, whores, &c. are said to have been three hundred thousand, which at last caused the ruin of the whole. At first Antiochus had full

^p Huetii Demon. Evang. Prop. 4. cap. de Ecclesiastico. * Ant. C. 131. Jo. Hyrcan. 5. ^a Justin, lib. 38. cap. 10. Orosius, lib. 5. cap. 10. Valerius Maximus, lib. 4. cap. 1. ext. 4. *Ælian de Animalibus*, lib. 10. cap. 34.

full success; for he overthrew Phraates in three battles, and recovered Babylonia, Media and some other provinces that formerly belonged to the Syrian empire, excepting Parthia only, which remained with Phraates. Hyrcanus prince of the Jews, accompanied him in this expedition^r; and having had a share in all the victories that were obtained, returned with the glory of them in the end of the year. But the rest of the army wintered in the east; and by reason of their numerous train, were forced to disperse all over the country, oppressing the inhabitants in every place: And therefore the Partians gathered together, and in one day cut their throats in their several quarters, before they could gather to support one another. Antiochus, with the forces about him, hastening to help his men that lay next to him, was overpowered and slain; and his whole army and attendants were destroyed or made captives. In the meantime Demetrius was returned to Syria; where, on his brother's death, he recovered the kingdom: For Phraates being thrice vanquished by Antiochus, had released him from his captivity, and sent him back into Syria, hoping, that by raising troubles there, he might force Antiochus to return for suppressing them: But when the Syrians were cut off, he sent a party of horse to bring him back again, though Demetrius being aware of them, was got out of their reach: And having recovered his country, he made great rejoicings^t, when all the rest of Syria was in great sorrow for the loss they sustained in the east, there being scarce a family in the country that had

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 16.^t Justin, lib. 39. cap. 1.

had not a part in it. Phraates caused the body of Antiochus to be taken up from among the dead; and having put it in a silver coffin, sent it into Syria to be buried among his ancestors. And finding a daughter of Antiochus among the captives¹, he was smitten with her beauty and took her to wife. Being puffed up with this victory, he thought to have marched his army into Syria, but found himself entangled with a war against the Scythians. He had called them to assist him against the Syrians²; but the war being ended before they came, he denied them their wages, and therefore they turned their arms against him.

John Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, took the advantage of the death of Antiochus, and these disturbances in Syria, not only to enlarge his territories, by seizing Madeba, Samega, and several other places in Syria, Phœnicia and Arabia, and adding them to his dominions, but also after this time, to make himself absolute and independent. For after this, neither he nor any princes of Judea that descended from him³, owned any further homage or subjection to the kings of Syria.

In the mean time Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, went on in his luxury, cruelty and tyranny⁴. He deflowered Cleopatra his wife's daughter by violence, and then married her, having divorced her mother, to make room for her⁵. Having by his cruelty driven out the old inhabitants of Alexandria, and repeopled it with new ones, by his wickedness he made himself as odious to them as

¹ Justin, lib. 38. cap. 10. ² Idem. lib. 41. cap. 1. ³ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. Justin, lib. 36. cap. 1. ⁴ See of him Vol. III. p. 407, 425. ⁵ Justin, lib. 38. cap. 9. Valer. Maximus, lib. 9. cap. 1. & 2, extor. 5. Epitome Livii, lib. 54.

to the former ; for he ordered his mercenaries to surround the young men in the place of public games, and put them all to death. The people being exasperated, rose in a tumult and set fire to his palace to burn him in it ; but he made his escape to Cyprus, with the young Cleopatra his wife, and Memphitis his son. On his arrival there, hearing that the people of Alexandria had put the government of the kingdom into the hands of Cleopatra his divorced wife, he hired an army of mercenaries to make war against them. While he lay at Cyprus, fearing that the Alexandrians would make his son, whom he had appointed governor of Cyrene, king in his stead, he sent for him and put him to death : By which barbarity the Alexandrians being further provoked, pulled down all his statues in their city ; which he interpreted to be done at the instigation of Cleopatra his divorced queen ; and to be revenged, he caused Memphitis, a hopeful son he had by her, to be killed before his face, and cutting his body in pieces, put them in a box with the head, to shew to whom it belonged, and sent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, ordering him to present it to Cleopatra on the anniversary of her birth ; which was accordingly done ; and the sight turned their music into mourning, but excited the people to raise an army ; over which the queen made Marfyas general, to defend the country against this tyrant.

Hyrchanus, prince of the Jews, having taken Shechem the prime seat of the Samaritans, destroyed their temple on mount Gerizzim^{a *}, which had been there built by Sanballat. But they had still an

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. ^{*} Ant. C. 129. Jo. Hyrcan. 7.

an altar in that place, on which they offer sacrifices according to the Levitical law, even to this day. After this, Hyrcanus conquered the Edomites, or Idumæans^b, taking from them the cities of Adora and Marissa; and reduced them to this necessity, either to embrace the Jewish religion and be circumcised, or leave their country. They chose the former, and became incorporated with the Jewish church^c, and reputed one people with them: So that about the end of the first century, the name of Edomites or Idumæans, was swallowed up in that of Jews.

Phraates the Parthian, having drawn upon him a dangerous war with the Scythians^d, committed a great oversight in the management thereof: For having taken great numbers of the Grecian mercenaries, who had followed Antiochus Sidetes in his expedition against him, and used them cruelly, on the breaking out of this new war, he listed these very people among his forces. When they had got arms into their hands, remembering with what tyranny and insolence Phraates had used them, they went over to the Scythians in the day of battle, and so cut off Phraates and most of his Parthian army. The Grecians and Scythians having plundered the country, contented themselves with this revenge, and both returned to their own land. On their departure, Artabanus the uncle of Phraates, took the crown of Parthia; but he being in a few days slain in battle by the Thogrians, another nation of the Scythian race, was succeeded by Mithridates, who for his remarkable actions was called the Great.

Ptolemy

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11. ^c Strabo, lib. 16. p. 760. ^d Justin, lib. 42. cap. 1. 2.

Ptolemy Physcon having got together an army, sent it against the Alexandrians under the command of Hegelochus his general; who in a battle got the victory over Mariyas *, general for the Alexandrians, whom he took prisoner, and sent in chains to Physcon; who, contrary to every body's expectation, pardoned him; for now he ran upon an extreme of clemency. Cleopatra, the divorced queen, being distressed by the loss of her army, sent to Demetrius king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter by Philometor, for his assistance †, promising him the crown of Egypt for his reward; which proposal Demetrius cheerfully accepting, marched into Egypt with all his forces, and there laid siege to Pelusium.

About this time, Hyrcanus sent an embassy to the Romans ‡, to renew the league made between them and Simon his father; which was consented to by the senate: And whereas Antiochus Sidetes had made war upon the Jews, contrary to what the Romans had decreed, besieging Jerusalem, and forcing them to a disadvantageous peace; they ordered "all this to be made null and void: That the cities of Gazara, Joppa and others, taken from the Jews, should be restored, free of homage, tribute or other services: That the Syrians should have no liberty to march through their territories: That reparations should be made to them for what damages the Syrians had done contrary to the league with Simon: And that ambassadors should be sent to see all this executed." And it was further decreed, "That the Prætor Fannius should pay the Jewish ambassadors the expences of

* *Ant. C. 128. Jo. Hyrcan 8.* † *Justin, lib. 38. cap. 9. & lib. 39. cap. 1.* ‡ *Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri p. 227.* § *Josephi Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17.*

of their journey homeward, and that letters should be writ to all princes and states confederate with the Romans, to give them a safe and honourable passage in their way." All which was done: And this rejoiced Hyrcanus and the Jewish nation.

And therefore the next year * they sent to Rome another embassy, by Alexander the son of Jason, Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Alexander the son of Dorotheus, to return their thanks for the said decree, and in acknowledgment thereof, to present them with a cup and a shield, both of gold, to the value of fifty thousand gold pieces of their money; which was kindly accepted of, and a new decree granted, ratifying all that was done in the former war in their favour. Josephus † reciteth the decree at large, but by some strange mistake it is placed in the time of Hyrcanus II. in the time of Julius Cæsar, after the walls of Jerusalem had been pulled down by Pompey; which could not be, as hath been observed both by the learned primate Usher ‡ and Dr. Prideaux §. For Numenius, one of the ambassadors mentioned in the body of the decree, was the same man who had been sent to Rome by Jonathan ¶, who might have been alive in the ninth year of Hyrcanus I. but can never be supposed to be living and able to go about business in the reign of Hyrcanus II. a hundred years after Jonathan's time. Nay, these things were done when the Jews were a free people, and allies with the Romans, as in the time of Hyrcanus I. and not when they were subdued by, and tributaries to the Romans, as in the time of Hyrcanus II.

§ 17.

* Ant. C. 127. Jo. Hyrcan. 9. † Antiq. lib. 14 cap. 16. ‡ Annales mundi ad annum ante Christum 127.

§ Connexion, part 2. p. 312.

¶ 1 Maccab. xii. 16.

§ 17. Demetrius king of Syria, having by his tyrannical government, and vicious manners which he had learned in Parthia¹, rendered himself as odious to the Syrians, as Phylcon was to the Egyptians, they took advantage of his absence at the siege of Pelusium to rise in rebellion against him. The Antiochians, the Apamæans, and then other cities joined in the revolt; which obliged Demetrius to hasten out of Egypt, and look to his own interest at home. Cleopatra queen of Egypt being deprived of his support, put her treasure into ships, and fled to Ptolemais; where she met with Cleopatra queen of Syria, her daughter by Philometor her first husband, who resided there. Upon her flight out of Egypt, Ptolemy Phylcon returned to Alexandria, there being no power there to oppose him. When he had settled himself in Egypt, to be revenged on Demetrius, he set up an impostor against him, who was called Alexander Zebenna, a son of a broker in Alexandria, who feigned himself to be the son of Alexander Balas; under which title he claimed the crown of Syria, and multitudes joined him out of the great aversion they had to Demetrius. At length the controversy was brought to the decision of a battle, fought near Damascus in Coelosyria^{*}; where Demetrius being overthrown, fled to Ptolemais to Cleopatra his wife. But she retaining resentments against him for marrying Rhodaguna while in Parthia, took this opportunity to be revenged, by shutting the gates of the city against him: Whereupon he fled to Tyre, and was there slain, four years after his return from

¹ Justin, lib. 39. cap. 1. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. * Ant. C. 126. Jo. Hyrcan. 10.

from Parthia. After his death Cleopatra retained some part of the kingdom, and Zebenna reigned over all the rest; for some of the Syrian coins^m yet retain in his name. He seems to have granted the Tyrians their liberty, as an acknowledgment for killing Demetrius; for from this yearⁿ they commence a new epocha. To secure himself in the government, he made a strict league with John Hyrcanus prince of the Jews^o; and John made all the advantage of these divisions which might be expected from so wise a man, for establishing the interest of his country.

A great flood of locusts coming into Africa about this time^p, destroyed the fruits of the earth^q; and afterwards these insects being by the wind driven into the sea, and drowned, and being by the flowing of the tide again cast upon the land, caused such a stench as poisoned the air, and produced a most terrible pestilence, which in Libya, Cyrene, and other parts of Africa, destroyed above eight hundred thousand persons.

Seleucus, the eldest son of Demetrius Nicator by Cleopatra, being now about twenty years of age †, took upon him to reign in Syria in his father's stead, contrary to his mother's inclination; and therefore, she having caught him within her power, slew him with her own hands, by thrusting a dart through him^r, after he had reigned only one year.

Antipater, Clonius and Æropus three of Zebenna's chief officers, having revolted from him to

^m Usserii Annales ad A. M. 3877. ⁿ Ibid. ad annum ante Christum 126. ^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. ^p Ant. C. 125. Jo. Hyrcan. 11. ^q Livii Epitome, lib. 60. ^r Ant. C. 124. Jo. Hyrcan. 12. ^s Livii Epitome, lib. 60. Justin, lib. 39. cap. 1. Porphyrius in Orzels Eusebianis Scaligeri p. 227.

to Cleopatra, seized Laodicea, and there endeavoured to maintain themselves against him: But he having soon reduced them, out of his great clemency pardoned them all¹; for he was a person of a very mild temper, which made him be beloved by those who liked not the cheat whereby he usurped the crown.

This year died Mithridates Euergetes king of Pontus, being slain by the treachery of some of those who were about him², and was succeeded by his son the famous Mithridates Eupator, who maintained a war with the Romans for the empire of Asia, for about thirty years; of which more particularly in the sequel of this history. He was about twelve years old when he began to reign. He lived seventy-two years³, and reigned sixty; and is said to have been descended from a long series of kings, who reigned in Pontus for sixteen generations before him, down from the time of⁴ Darius Hytaspis. At the time of his birth there appeared a very great comet for 70 days together⁵, and the like again shined at his accession to the crown; the tails thereof seemed to be so great, as to take up one quarter of the hemisphere, and displayed their rays so bright for four hours together, as the heavens seemed all to be in a flame. This seemed to portend that this prince would be a great incendiary in the world: And so it proved; for he begun his reign with the murder of his mother and brother, and the rest of his actions were of a piece; for he

was

¹ Diod. Siculus, in Excerptis Valefii, p. 397. ² Justin, lib. 37. cap. 1. Strabo, lib. 10. p. 477. ³ Eutropius, lib. 6. p. m. 64. ⁴ Prideaux's Connexion part 2. p. 326. ⁵ Justin, lib. 37. cap. 2.

was a person of great abilities, but employed them to the ruin of multitudes of people.

Cleopatra, the relict of Demetrius, having killed her eldest son, as hath been related, found it necessary to have one with the name of a king to countenance her authority; and therefore she sent for Antiochus, her other son by Demetrius, from Athens*, where he had been for his education; and on his arrival declared him king of Syria, designing to keep the authority to herself; which she hoped easily to do, since he did not then exceed the twentieth year of his age; and indeed he for some time complied with her. To distinguish him from several other kings of Syria, of the name of Antiochus, he is commonly called *Tetræus*, or *Grypus*, from his hook nose.

Alexander Zebenna being puffed up with his success, began to despise every body, and even Ptolemy Physcon, who had advanced him to be king of Syria; and therefore Physcon being reconciled to Queen Cleopatra, his niece, married his daughter Tryphæna to Antiochus Grypus, her son; and sent an army into Syria, whereby Zebenna was overthrown, and forced to flee to Antioch, where he endeavoured secretly to rob the temple of Jupiter, and to carry off the statue of that deity, all of massy gold, with an image of Victory, of the same metal, to furnish him with money to pay his scattered troops. But being discovered in the attempt, the Antiochians rose and drove him away. And after shifting from place to place, he was taken prisoner, brought to Grypus, and killed.

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* Ant. C. 123. Jo. Hyrcan 13.

† Ant. C. 122. Jo. Hyrcan. 14.

Justin, lib. 39. cap. 1.

Justin, lib. 39. cap. 2.

Next year *i.*, *L. Opimius* and *Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus* being consuls at Rome, the seasons proved so good, that all the fruits of the earth were beyond what they used to be at other times; and especially their wine of that vintage remained, according to *Pliny*^a, to his time, that is, about two hundred years, and tasted like fine rough honey, being the famous *Opimian* wine, so called from the name of the consul.

Upon *Zebenna's* being vanquished and slain, *Antiochus Grypus*, coming to maturity of age *||*, began to take on him the authority, as well as the name of a king, whereby the power of *Cleopatra* in the government became very much eclipsed, which she could not bear; and to recover the same, she resolved to cut off her son *Grypus*^b, as she had done *Seleucus*, and to call to the crown a younger child whom she had by *Antiochus Sidetes*, in whose tender years she might fix herself in the administration for all the following part of her life. To execute this wickedness, she provided a strong cup of poison for *Grypus*, as he came home hot and weary from exercise. But he having notice of the design, forced herself to drink it off, which put an end to her wretched life. She had been the wife of three of the Syrian kings, namely, of *Alexander Balas*, *Demetrius Nicator*, and *Antiochus Sidetes*, and the mother of four princes, viz. *Antiochus*, son to *Alexander Balas*, *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus Grypus*, sons to *Demetrius*; and *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, son to *Antiochus Sidetes*. She had occasioned the death of

two

^a *Ant. C.* 131. *Jo. Hyrcan.* 15.

^b *Ant. C.* 130. *Jo. Hyrcan.* 16.

Syriaica, p. 133.

^a *Plinii Nat Hist.* lib. 14. cap. 4 & 14.

^b *Justin*, lib. 39. cap. 2. *Appianus* in

two of her husbands, and had murdered one son with her own hand, and designed to do the like with another: But her mischief returned upon her own head. She being dead, Grypus settled his affairs, and reigned several years without disturbance.

Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, having reigned there from the death of Philometor, his brother, twenty-nine years §, died at Alexandria, and put an end to a wicked life, and tyrannical reign; many instances whereof have been already related. He left behind him three sons; the eldest, named Apion, he had by a concubine^c; the other two by Cleopatra, his niece, whom he married after divorcing her mother^d. The eldest of these was called Lathyrus, and the other^e Alexander. By his will, he left the kingdom of Cyrene to Apion, and that of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with one of her sons whom she should make choice of^f. She looking on Alexander as likelier to comply with her, offered to make choice of him: But the people not bearing that the eldest should be put by his right, forced her to send for him from Cyprus; where, in his father's lifetime, she had procured him to be banished, and admit him to reign in copartnership with her; but before she would suffer him to be inaugurated, she forced him to divorce Cleopatra, the eldest of his sisters, whom he had taken to be his wife, and dearly loved, and to marry in her stead Selene, his younger sister, who was not so acceptable to him.

C 2

Antiochus

§ Ant. C. 127. Jo Hyrcan. 19. ^c Justin, lib. 39. cap. 5. Appian in *Alchida*. In fine. ^d Justin, lib. 39. cap. 3. ^e Trog. Pompeius in *Pro-*
log. 39. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. ^f Justin, lib. 39. cap. 3.

Antiochus Grypus in Syria, after he had enjoyed his throne eight years in peace*, designed to prepare for a war against the Jews, but was prevented by commotions raised against him by Antiochus Cyzicenus, his half-brother, being the son of Cleopatra, his mother, by Antiochus Sidetes, his uncle, born while her former husband, Demetrius, was prisoner in Parthia. On Demetrius's return to Syria, Cleopatra removed this boy to Cyzicus, a city lying on the Propontis in Lesser Mysia, where he was educated by Craterus, a faithful eunuch; and from thence had the name of Cyzicenus. Grypus being jealous of him, endeavoured to have him removed by poison: Which being discovered, Cyzicenus was forced to arm for his life, as well as for the crown of Syria. Cleopatra, whom Ptolemæus Lathyrus, king of Egypt, was forced to divorce, disposed of herself in marriage to Cyzicenus†; and having got an army together in Cyprus, she offered her husband the help thereof instead of a dower. By these means his forces being made equal to those of his brother, he came to a battle with him‡, wherein Cyzicenus being overthrown, fled to Antioch, and there left his wife, and went to recruit his broken forces. Grypus laid siege to Antioch; and having taken it, Tryphæna, his wife, earnestly desired to have Cleopatra delivered into her hands, though her own sister, that she might put her to death. But Cleopatra having taken sanctuary in one of the temples, Grypus used all arguments to dissuade his wife from such a wicked action; though

* Ant. C. 112. Jo. Hyrcan. 22. † Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17.
Justin, lib. 39. cap. 2. Appian in Syriacis, p. 132. See Vol. III. p. 419.
‡ Justin, lib. 39. cap. 3. † Ant. C. 113. Jo. Hyrcan. 23.

though she being moved by jealousy and revenge, would hearken neither to reason nor affection, but sent soldiers, who killed the unfortunate lady, while embracing the image of their deity, to which she had fled for refuge. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, mother to both these sisters, expressed no regard for either; but to strengthen herself, made Alexander, her younger son, king of Cyprus¹, that she might be assisted by him against Lathyrus, his brother, when occasion should require.

The death of Cleopatra in Syria did not go long unrevenged; for Cyzicenus having drawn another army together †, fought a second battle with his brother; and having gained the victory, and in the pursuit having got Tryphæna into his power, he sacrificed her to the ghost of his murdered wife^k. By this victory Grypus being driven out of Syria, fled to Aspendus in Pamphylia; whence he is sometimes called Aspendus^l: But, the next year ||, returning from thence with an army, he again recovered a great part of his dominions; and the two brothers parting the Syrian empire between them, Cyzicenus reigned at Damascus over Coele Syria and Phœnicia, and Grypus at Antioch over all the rest. Both brothers were very excessive in their luxury and follies, (of which the curious may see a larger account in the authors ^m at the foot of the page) and indeed so were most of the latter Syrian kings: And to this, and to their fatal divisions, they

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owed

¹ Pausanias in Atticis, cap. 9. p. m. 21. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scalligeri, p. 225. † Ant. C. 112. Jo. Hyrcan. 24. ^k Justin, lib. 39. cap. 3. ^l Porphyrius ubi supra, p. 227. || Ant. C. 111. Jo. Hyrcan. 25. ^m Athenæus ex Posidonio, lib. 5. cap. 9. & lib. 12. cap. 19. Diocl. Sicul. in excerptis Valesii, p. 385.

owed the loss of their empire, for they were men most unworthy of it.

§ 18. While these two brothers in Syria were harassing each other in war, or wasting themselves in luxury[§], John Hyrcanus enjoyed in peace the fruits of the land of Judea[¶], whereby he increased in riches and power. Whereupon he resolved to reduce Samaria, and to this end sent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his sons, to besiege that city; which obliged the inhabitants to send to Antiochus Cyzicenus, king of Damascus, for relief; who coming with a great army, was encountered by the two sons of Hyrcanus, who defeated, and pursued him as far as Scythopolis, where he hardly escaped. The victors returned, and pressed the siege so hard, that the Samaritans were forced to send a second time to Cyzicenus for support. But he not having forces sufficient for such an attempt^{*}, desired the assistance Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt; who sent him six thousand auxiliaries, contrary to the inclinations of Cleopatra his mother. Upon their arrival, Cyzicenus joined them with what force he had; yet durst not openly face his enemy, but spent his time in harassing the open country, hoping thereby to draw the Jews from the siege. But this failing, and finding his army, by surprises, desolations and other casualties, much diminished, he retired to Tripoli, leaving Callimander and Epicrates to pursue the war: The former of which rashly venturing on an enterprize too hard for him, was cut off with all his party; and the latter coming to an agreement with Hyrcanus,

§ Ant. C. 110. Jo. Hyrcan. 26. [¶] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17, 18.
^{*} Ant. C. 109. Jo. Hyrcan. 27.

nus, for a sum of money delivered to him Sythopolis, with other places the Syrians had in that country. Samaria being thus deprived of all further hopes of relief, was forced, after it had held out a year's siege, to surrender into the hands of Hyrcanus; who entirely demolished the place, not only pulling down the houses and walls, but even drawing trenches cross the ground, to be filled with water, that it might never be rebuilt. This was not done merely from the hatred which the Jews bore to the sect of the Samaritans; for the inhabitants of that city at this time were of the Syro-Macedonian race, and of the heathen superstition. Alexander the Great expelled^a the Samaritans who worshipped God in mount Gerizzim, and they retired to Sechem, which hath been the chief seat of their sect ever since; and the same prince planted Samaria with a colony of Macedonians, Greeks and Syrians, and they were of their posterity when Hyrcanus took the place. From this time Samaria continued in its demolished state, till Herod the Great rebuilt it, and gave it the name of Sebaste, in honour of Augustus. After this victory, Hyrcanus became master of all Judea, Galilee and Samaria, and of other places in the skirts of the adjacent country; whereby he made himself so powerful a prince, that none of his neighbours durst debate with him, but he enjoyed the remainder of his time in quiet from foreign wars. Josephus^b also informs us, that at this time Providence favoured the Jews not only in their own country, but they were also prosperous in Alexandria, in Egypt, and in Cyprus;

^a See Vol. III. p. 80.^b Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18.

Cyrenus: For Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, not considering in her son Ptolemy Lathyrus, had two Jews, Calpurnius and Ananias, sons of that Onias who built the Jewish temple in Egypt, as her chief favourites, who commanded all her forces, and directed all her counsels, and for their sake she favoured their whole nation.

In the latter end of Hyrcanus's life¹, he met with some trouble from the Pharisees, a busy and contentious sect. They, by their pretences to more than ordinary strictness in religion, had great interest among the common people; and therefore Hyrcanus endeavoured to gain them to his side. He had been bred up in their discipline, professed to be of their sect, and had always given them great encouragement; and to ingratiate himself further with them, he invited some of their leading men to an entertainment, where he told them², "That the fixed purposes of his mind had always been to be just in his actions towards men, and to do all things towards God that should be well pleasing to him, according to the doctrine which the Pharisees taught; and desired, that if they saw any thing wherein he failed of his duty, they might give him their instructions, that he might amend it." In answer to this speech, the Pharisees all approved his conduct; only one ill-natured person, named Eleazar, stood up, and addressing himself to Hyrcanus, said, "Since you desire to be told the truth; if you would approve yourself a just man, quit the high-priesthood, and content yourself with the government of the people." Hyrcanus asking what reason there was for this,

Eleazar

¹ Ant. C. 108. Jo. Hyrcan. 28. ² Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18.

Eleazar replied, " Since you desire to be told the truth, it is because we are assured, by the testimony of the ancients, that your mother was a captive taken in the wars; and therefore, as born of her, you are incapable of the high-priesthood, and cannot hold it by law." The law which this Pharisee pointed at, seems to be Lev. xxi. 14, 15. Deut. vii. 3. But the matter of fact, as Josephus[†] assures us, was false, and a notorious calumny; and therefore the objection was disapproved by all that were present. But it occasioned great disturbances: For Hyrcanus not being able to bear, that his mother should be defamed, and his birth and capacity for the high-priesthood called in question, was much provoked. About the same time, Jonathan, a zealous Sadducee, (of which sect we shall have occasion to write in the next part of this essay) and an intimate friend of Hyrcanus, observing how far he was disobliged, set himself to draw over the prince to his own party. To this end he affirmed, that Eleazar spoke out this false story as the mouth of his own faction; and he might only ask what punishment the calumniator deserved. Which Hyrcanus complying with, the chief Pharisees answered, " That calumny and defamation were no capital crimes, and could be punished no further than by whipping or imprisonment." Whereupon Hyrcanus became a bitter enemy to the whole sect of the Pharisees, abrogated their traditionary constitutions, and renouncing their party, went over to that of the Sadducees.

Hyrcanus did not live long after this; for he died the next year*, having been, from the death of

[†] Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18.

* Ant. C. 107. Jo. Hyrcan. 29.

of Simon his father, high-priest and prince of the Jews twenty-nine years. Josephus makes him also a prophet, telling us, That he foretold that Aristobulus and Antigonus, his two eldest sons, would not live long after him, and that the succession of the government should come to Alexander, his third son, as accordingly happened; and also, that when his two eldest sons vanquished Antiochus Cyzicenus in battle, it was made known to him that very moment in which the victory was gained, though he was then at Jerusalem, at a great distance from the field. Granting that he guessed truly at some of these things which concerned his own family, about which his mind was much employed, I do not see that this makes him a prophet, or one divinely inspired. But 'tis more justly spoken to his honour, that he was the founder of the castle Baris; which was the palace of the Asmonæan princes at Jerusalem, as long as they reigned there. When Simon his father had destroyed the fortress on mount Acra, which an heathen garrison had kept there for several years^a, he built fortifications round the mountain of the temple, and within these he erected a house for himself, which seems to be the same which Hyrcanus afterwards built into the castle Baris: It stood on a steep rock fifty cubits high, or seventy-five feet, without the outer court of the temple, and was a square building of two furlongs in compass, that is, of half a furlong^b, or three hundred feet on every side. Here Hyrcanus and his successors of the Asmonæan family dwelt; and here they laid up the pontifical stole,

^a Antiq lib 13. cap 18, 20. ^b Joseph. Antiq. lib 18 cap 6. ^c See Vol III. page 417. ^d See Lightfoot of the Temple, chap. 7.

or sacred robes, of the high-priest, to be ready on every occasion. Thus it continued to the time of Herod the Great; who being made king of Judea, and observing the convenience of the place, new built it, cased over the rock of seventy-five feet high with polished marble; whereby he rendered it impossible for any to climb up that way; and on the top of the rock he erected a tower called Antonia, in honour of Mark Anthony the Triumvir, who then governed in these parts. We have frequently in the New Testament the captain of the temple mentioned¹: For he commanded a garrison at this castle, till at length the temple, this fortress, and the sacred robes there laid up, were all destroyed in the conflagration and entire desolation of the city Jerusalem by Titus and the Romans. After Hyrcanus broke with the Pharisees, he lost the affections of the common people, which created great troubles to him and his posterity, as we shall afterwards hear.

Hyrcanus dying this year, left five sons behind him: The first was named Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alexander, and the fifth Absalom²; what was the name of the fourth is no where said. Aristobulus being the eldest, succeeded his father in the office of high-priest and supreme governor of the country. As soon as he was settled, he put a crown upon his own head, and assumed the title of king, being the first that did so since the Babylonish captivity³. His mother, by virtue of her husband's will claiming a right to the sovereignty, Aristobulus cast her into prison, and there starved her to death. As to his brothers,

¹ Luke xlii. 31. Act. iv. 1. & v. 14, 16. ² Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 19. and lib. 14 cap. 8. ³ Ibid. lib. 13. cap. 19.

brothers, Antigonus the eldest next himself, being for a while much in his affection, he at first had a share in the government with him; the other three he shut up in prison, and kept them there as long as he lived.

Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt, having incurred his mother's displeasure, for sending an army into Palestine against the Jews^b, which Chelchias and Ananias, two Jews who governed her counsels, opposed, as what might tend to the prejudice of their nation; she carried it so far against him for this and some other attempts of reigning without her^c, that having first taken his wife Selene from him, (by whom he had at this time two sons, who afterwards died before himself) she drove him out of the kingdom. To effectuate this purpose, she caused some of her favourite eunuchs to be wounded, and bringing them into the public assembly of the Alexandrians, pretended that they had suffered in defence of her person against Lathyrus, who had made an attempt against her life, which so incensed the people, that he was obliged to make his escape aboard of a ship for his own safety. Cleopatra having so far gained her design, called Alexander her younger son, who had for some years reigned in Cyprus, and having made him king of Egypt, forced Lathyrus to be content with Cyprus, which Alexander had left.

Aristobulus having settled his authority at Jerusalem, made war^e upon the Iturians^d, and subduing the greatest part of them, forced them to become proselytes to the Jewish religion, or else to

^b See page 26. ^c Justin, lib. 39. cap. 4. Pausanias in Atticis, cap. 2 p. m. 21. ^d Ant. C. 106. Aristob. 1. ^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 19.

to leave their country: And thus did the Asmonæan princes often deal with those they conquered. Ituræa, which was afterwards called Aulonitis, lies on the north-east side of the land of Israel, opposite to Samaria, and was named from Itur^a, one of the sons of Imael. Aristobulus returning sick to Jerusalem, left his brother Antigonus to finish the war in Ituræa. While he lay ill, the queen and her favourites were still telling him stories against this brother; who having finished the war in Ituræa, returned in triumph to Jerusalem, just as they were celebrating the feast of tabernacles; and that he might perform his devotions at that solemn time, marched with his armed guards about him straight to the temple. Aristobulus, then lying sick at the palace of Baris, adjoining to the temple, was told that his brother came to execute some evil design against him. The sick prince sent orders to his brother Antigonus to put off his armour^b, and come immediately to him; at the same time he caused place his guards in the way through which his brother was to pass, and ordered them, if he came unarmed they should let him go, but if otherwise they should kill him. The messenger, instead of desiring Antigonus to come unarmed, being corrupted by the queen and her party, told him, that the king hearing he had a very fine suit of armour on, desired to see him with it: Whereupon he passed through a subterranean gallery armed as he was, and the guards, according to their orders, fell upon him and slew him. This fact was no sooner done, than Aristobulus grievously repented of it; and minding al-

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so how guilty he was of the murder of his mother, his conscience flew in his face for both, and brought on him a vomiting of blood. While the servant was carrying out the vomited blood in a basin, he happened to stumble, and spill it in the place where Antigonus's blood was shed: At which the company made some noise, which Aristobulus hearing, obliged them to tell the whole story; whereupon a grievous remorse seized him for both these murders, and in this agony he died, having reigned only one whole year. Josephus^a tells us of one Judas an Essene, who foretold that Antigonus would be killed at Straton's tower that very day. He took this for the city afterwards called Cæsarea, two days journey from Jerusalem; and therefore was vexed when he saw him in the temple: But when the news came of his murder, he found the gallery where it was done under Straton's tower in the entry of the palace.

Aristobulus, who in his infancy was called Judas, was in his lifetime a great favourer of the Greeks, and therefore called Philellen; and the Greeks had as great a value for him: For Timagenes an historian of theirs, as Josephus^a tells us out of Strabo, (whose history is now lost) said, "That he was a prince of equity, who in many things had been very beneficial to the Jews; for he augmented their territories, ingrafting into the Jewish state part of the nation of the Ituræans, and binding them to it by the bond of circumcision." But his actions already related, give him another character, and his dreadful terrors at death, may make great men afraid to commit wicked actions, though

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 20. & de Bello Judæico, lib. 1. cap. 3.

^b Ibid.

though the torments of hell were not to punish them eternally.

So soon as Aristobulus was dead, his wife Salome¹ discharged his three brothers out of prison; and Alexander, surnamed Jannæus, who was now the eldest, took the kingdom. From his very birth, his father Hyrcanus had some displeasure at him, and never suffered him to come in his sight as long as he lived, but caused educate him in Galilee: "Because, says Josephus, an oracle told him, that neither Aristobulus, nor Antigonus his elder sons, whom he loved, but this Alexander his third son would succeed him in the government of Judea." Upon Alexander's advancement, his brother next in age having endeavoured to supplant him, he caused him to be put to death. But the other brother, named Abisalom, being content to live a private life, had his favour and protection; and we find that he having married his daughter to the younger son of Alexander his brother, he engaged in his cause against the Romans, and was made prisoner by them on Pompey's taking the temple², forty-two years after this.

§ 19. If we look into the other parts of the world, we may find the two brothers, Antiochus Grypus and Cyzicenus, the one reigning at Antioch, and the other at Damascus; and still harassing each other with wars³. Some cities that had formerly been under the Syrian empire, took advantage of this situation of affairs to assert their liberties; as Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, Gaza and others: and tyrants took possession of other places; as Theodorus of Gadara and Amathus beyond Jordan;

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 20. ² Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8.

³ Ibid. Justin, lib. 39. Appian. in Syriacis.

Jordan; and Zoilus of Dora, and Staton's tower, afterwards called Cæsarea. At the same time Cleopatra and Alexander her youngest son possessed Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus her eldest son reigned in Cyprus. In this condition were neighbouring countries when Alexander Jannæus became King of Judea.

Alexander, when he had settled his affairs at home, led forth his forces to make war with the people of Ptolemais *, and having vanquished them in battle, shut them up within the walls of their city, who thereupon sent to Ptolemy Lathyrus, then reigning in Cyprus, to come to their relief; but fearing this might draw forces out of Egypt against them, they resolved to desire him to delay his coming. But Lathyrus having shipped thirty thousand men aboard his fleet, landed them in Phœnicia; and finding that the city Ptolemais did not seek his help, he resolved to succour Zoilus prince of Dora, and the city Gaza, whose territories Alexander wasted, while, with the main body of his army, he carried on the siege. Jannæus thinking it dangerous to venture a battle with Lathyrus's troops, marched home, and entered into a treaty with him, engaging to pay him four hundred talents of silver, on condition that he would deliver Zoilus with the places which he held. Lathyrus accepted the terms, and seized Zoilus and his territories, with intention to have delivered him up. But finding that Alexander Jannæus was at the same time treating with Cleopatra, to bring her upon him with all her Egyptian forces, he resolved to be revenged both

* Ant. C. 105. Alex. Jan. 1. in Syria.

both upon Alexander and the city Ptolemais, for the ill usage he had received from them^m. Which he found occasion to do next yearⁿ; for he besieged Ptolemais with one part of his army, while with the other he marched to invade the territories of Alexander in Judea. He took Asochis, a city in Galilee, and in it got ten thousand captives, with much plunder; and after this he laid siege to Sepphoris, another city of Galilee. Alexander understanding all this, prepared an army of fifty thousand, or as others say, of eighty thousandⁿ, to defend his country: Which brought on a bloody battle between them, near the banks of Jordan, where Alexander being vanquished, lost thirty thousand of his men, besides those who were taken prisoners; and Lathyrus having got the victory, pursued it to the utmost. Yea, Josephus^p tells us an odd story of his cruelty, for which he quotes Strabo and Nicolaus for his authors. "That finding some villages near his camp full of women and children, he caused them all to be killed, and their bodies cut in pieces, and put into caldrons over the fire to be boiled, to leave an opinion in the country, that his men fed upon human flesh, to create dread and terror." After this defeat, Alexander being in no condition to resist his enemy, he must have been undone, had he not been relieved next year; which was ordered thus:

Cleopatra queen of Egypt^q, apprehending that if her son Lathyrus king of Cyprus should make himself master of Judea and Phœnicia, he would soon be able to invade Egypt, and recover his king-

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^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13 cap 20.

ⁿ Ant. C. 104. Alex. Jan. 2.

^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, 20, 21.

^q Ibid.

^r Ant. C. 103. Alex. Jan 3.

dom from her, she thought it proper to put a stop to his progress. To this end, without loss of time she prepared an army, under the command of Celchias and Ananias, two Jews before^p mentioned, and with them sailed to Phœnicia; where she landed her army, and by the terror thereof, made Lathyrus quit the siege of Ptolemais, and retire to Coelefyria. After him she sent Celchias with one part of the army, and with the other she demanded entrance into Ptolemais; which being refused, she invested the place^q. While Celchias was pursuing Lathyrus in Coelefyria, he died, which defeated the design of that expedition; and Lathyrus took the advantage to march his troops into Egypt, hoping that in his mother's absence, he might find that kingdom unprovided to resist him, and soon become master of it. But he was disappointed: For the forces Cleopatra had left there, made good their ground, till she sent succours to them out of Phœnicia; which forced him to leave Egypt^r, to return to Palestine, and winter at Gaza. While this was a-doing, Cleopatra took Ptolemais; whither Alexander Jannæus came, and made her many presents: But his enmity with Lathyrus her son was the thing that made him most acceptable. There indeed wanted not some, who advised her to seize Alexander, and to subdue Judea. But the opinion of Ananias her general, "That such treacherous dealing to an ally would make her universally hated, and especially by all the Jews scattered up and down the world," diverted her from this design. So Alexander returned safe to Jerusalem, where he recruited his broken forces, and made up a good army, with which he besieged Gadara.

Ptolemy

^p See p. 32. ^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21. ^r Ant. C. 102.

Ptolemy Lathyrus finding that he was able to do no more in Palestine *, returned back to Cyprus, and Cleopatra sailed back to Egypt. Thus Judea was happily free of both. She, on her return to Alexandria, understanding that her son Lathyrus was carrying on a treaty at Damascus, with Antiochus Cyzicenus, for obtaining his assistance again to invade Egypt, and recover that kingdom, gave Selene her daughter, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus to wife; and with her sent him many troops of auxiliaries, and large sums of money to enable him to renew the war upon Cyzicenus † his brother. Whereupon civil wars breaking out between them, Cyzicenus was able to give no assistance to Lathyrus against Egypt, and thus the design became abortive. Ptolemy Alexander her other son, who reigned in Egypt with her, being terrified with the cruel usage with which she persecuted his elder brother, taking away his wife by violence, and giving her to his enemy; and observing that she struck at nothing that stood in the way of her ambition, left the kingdom, chusing rather to live in banishment with safety, than with so cruel a mother in danger of his life. But with difficulty he was persuaded to return: for the people would not allow her to reign without one of her sons swaying the scepter by the name of a king; and indeed this was all she allowed them as long as she lived.

Alexander Jannæus, after a siege of ten months, took Gadara; and from thence marched to Ama-

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* Ant. C. 101, Alex. Jan. 5. † Justin, lib. 39. cap. 4. Livii Epit. lib. 68. in fine.

thus, one of the strongest fortresses beyond Jordan, where Theodorus the son of Zeno prince of Philadelphia, had laid up his treasure[†]. This place he took in less time than Gadara, with all the treasure. But Theodorus fell upon him with a powerful army suddenly; and having overthrown him, and killed ten thousand of his men, recovered all his own money, and also all the enemies baggage. Thus Alexander returned to Jerusalem with considerable loss; which his enemies, especially the Pharisees, improved to his disadvantage. Notwithstanding this, the Jewish king understanding, that on Lathyrus's departure for Cyprus*, the Phœnician coast was left without defence, he marched thither and made himself master of Raphia and Anthedon, within a few miles of Gaza, whereby he in a manner blocked up that city: For the Gazeans having called in Lathyrus, and helped him to gain that battle near Jordan, where so many Jews were killed; Alexander resolved to be revenged on them, and therefore laid close siege to their city†. Apollodotus, who commanded the place, defended it with great valour for a whole year, and made several successful sallies. In one of which he made the Jewish army to think that Lathyrus was coming against them with a great force, which struck them with panic fear: But when day-light appeared, and they saw the contrary, they drove the Gazeans into their city, with the loss of one thousand men. At length Lyfimachus most treacherously killed his brother Apollodotus †, who made a gallant defence, and delivered the city to Alexander.

[†] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21. * Ant. C. 100. Alex. Jan. † Ant. C. 98. Alex. Jan. 8. ‡ Ant. C. 97. Alex. Jan. 9.

Alexander. At his first entry he carried with clemency; but when he had got thorough possession, he let loose his soldiers to kill, plunder and destroy; which produced a great scene of barbarity: For the Gazeans standing to their defence, the Jews lost almost as many men in the sackage, as they killed of the enemy. But at last Alexander ruined the city^c, and returned to Jerusalem.

This year died Antiochus Grypus king at Antioch, being slain by the treachery of Heracleon, one of his dependents, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, and forty-fifth of his life^d. He left behind him five sons, namely, Seleucus, who succeeded Philip and Demetrius, twins, Demetrius Eucærus, and Antiochus Dionysius. All these reigned, or at least attempted to reign in their turns.

Ptolemy Apion, king of Libya and Cyrene, the son of Physcon king of Egypt, dying without issue^e, gave that kingdom by his testament to the Romans, who gave all the cities their liberties^f; and this immediately filled them with tyrants, which brought all the country into confusion; which was in some measure composed by Lucullus^g, on his coming thither in the Mithridatic war; but could not fully be removed, till the country was at last reduced to the form of a Roman province.

Antiochus Cyzicenus seized Antioch^h, and endeavoured to make himself master of the whole kingdom,

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^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21. ^d Ibid. Græca Eusebiana Scaligeri, p. 327. ^e Ant. C. 96. Al. Jannaus. 10. ^f Epitome Livii. lib. 70. Julius Obsequens de prodigiis. ^g Plutarchus in Lucullo. ^h Græca Eusebiana Scaligeri, p. 327.

kingdom, to the exclusion of the sons of Grypus his brother; but Seleucus having possessed many other cities, drew great forces after him, to make good his right to his father's dominions.

Alexander Jannæus entering into the temple at Jerusalem, to officiate as high-priest, at the feast of tabernacles *, had an affront there offered him by the people; some pelting him with citrons †, and giving him opprobrious words; which enraged him to that degree, that with his soldiers, most of whom were mercenaries, he killed six thousand Jews; and to secure himself from suffering any more the like affront, he surrounded the court of the priests, within which stood the altar of burnt-offerings, and the temple, with a wooden partition. His father Hyrcanus, having differed with the Pharisees, and joined the Saducees ‡; and this prince having followed his father's footsteps, became the occasion of this and many other disturbances: For after this he durst not trust the Jews to guard his person, but called in foreign mercenaries to this purpose out of the Cilicians and Pisidians, of whom he had six thousand about him §. With these and twenty thousand Jews of his own sect, he passed over Jordan, and made war upon the Arabians †, whom he overcame in several conflicts, and made the inhabitants of the land of Moab and Gilead tributaries to him.

Seleucus growing powerful in Syria, Antiochus Cyzicenus marched out of Antioch against him; but being vanquished in battle †, he was taken prisoner

* Ant. C 95. Al. Jannæus 11. † Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13 cap 11. Bello Jud. lib. 1 cap. 3. ‡ See page 29. § Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13 cap. 23. † Ant. C 94 Al. Jannæus. 12. ‡ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13 cap. 21. Trogus in Prolog. 40.

prisoner and put to death. Whereupon Seleucus made himself master of Antioch, and of the whole Syrian empire, but was not able to keep it long: For Antiochus Eusebes, the son of Cyzicenus^c having, on Seleucus's taking Antiochus, by the assistance of a courtesan, made his escape out of that place, and come to Aradus, he was there crowned king. And having got his father's soldiers and others about him, made up a considerable army, with which he marched against Seleucus; and having obtained a great victory over him, forced him to flee to Mopsuestia, a city in Cilicia, for refuge, where having oppressed the inhabitants with intolerable exactions, he provoked them so far that they rose in a tumult, and besetting the house where he was, put fire to it, and there burnt him to death. Antiochus and Philip, the twin sons of Grypus, to revenge this, marched straight, with all the forces they could get, towards Mopsuestia; and having taken the place, razed it to the ground, and sacrificed all they found in it, to the ghost of their murdered brother. But in their return from this exploit, they were fallen upon by Eusebes, near the river Orontes, and put to the rout. Antiochus, one of the twins, endeavouring to swim the river with his horse, to make his escape, was drowned: But Philip the other twin, making a safe retreat, kept most of his forces together, and recruiting them with fresh men, was able to keep the field. So the contest for the Syrian empire was now between Antiochus Eusebes, the son of Cyzicenus, and Philip the third son of Antiochus.

^c Appian in Syriacis, p. 133. Euseb. Scalligeri, p. 227. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21.

Antiochus Grypus, each of these, having great parties on foot, miserably harassed the country in their continual wars.

In the meantime, Alexander Jannæus pursuing the good success which he had in the last year's expedition beyond Jordan, carried on the war further on that side, and invaded the territories of Theodorus, the son of Zeno prince of Philadelphia *. His chief design was to take the fortress of Amathus, with the treasure and fine things there deposited, which Alexander had taken about seven years before †, and Theodorus had recovered them. But at this time Alexander's name was become so terrible by his many late successes in these parts, that Theodorus durst not stand his coming; but carrying off his treasure to Gerasa, and withdrawing his garrison, he deserted the place ‡; whereupon Alexander took the fortress without opposition, and razed it to the ground.

In Syria, Antiochus Eusebes, the son of Cyzicentus, to strengthen himself in the kingdom, had married Selene the relict of Grypus *. She being an active woman, had taken possession of some part of the Syrian empire on her husband's death, and had got forces to maintain herself in it. This marriage offending Lathyrus king of Cyprus, whose wife she had first been, he sent to Cnidus, where Demetrius Encarus the fourth son of Grypus had been for his education †, and settled him on the throne at Damascus. Eusebes and Philip being

* Ant. C. 93. Al. Jannæus 13. † See page 40. ‡ Joseph. de Bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 3. * Ant. C. 91. Al. Jannæus 14. † Appianus in Syriacis, p. 215.

being at war against each other, could not hinder this: For though Eusebes received accession to his strength, by marrying Selene, yet Philip pursued his quarrel against him; and at length having drawn him into a decisive battle, gave him a total overthrow, which forced him to fly to Parthia for his safety¹: Whereupon Philip and Demetrius became possessed of the Syrian empire.

Alexander king of Judea, making an expedition into Gaulonitis, a country lying on the east side of the lake Genesareth, and there engaging in a war against Obedas an Arabian king, was drawn into an ambush; wherein he lost most of his men, and himself hardly escaped², near Gadara a city in Gilead. Alexander fled to Jerusalem; where the people, who before did not love him, were now so exasperated as to rise in rebellion against him, hoping to compass his destruction: But he soon got together forces sufficient to oppose them, and this produced a civil war between him and his people, which lasted six years, and brought great calamities upon both.

I might here give some account of the rise and progress of the Mithridatic war, between Mithridates Eupator king of Pontus, supported by Tigranes king of Armenia on the one side, and the Romans on the other. But I design a compendious history of the Roman affairs, from the building of their city to the birth of our Saviour in the next part of this essay, where the actions of Mithridates will come in our way: And therefore, I now hasten to put a period to this chapter, if

¹ Eusebius in *Chronico* ad Olymp. 171. cap. 21. & *de Bello Jud.* lib. 1. cap. 3.

² *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. 13.

if once I had brought the Syrian kings of the Macedonian race to their end, and observed what happened to the Jews during that time, and to the Egyptians.

Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, being weary of her son Alexander, and of the joint authority which he held with her in the government of the kingdom, laid designs against his life*, that being free of him, she might reign alone. But he being informed, prevented the plot by cutting her off, making the mischief return upon her own head¹. She was a monster of wickedness, as her actions declare, and deserved death, had it come from any other hands than those of her own son. When the Alexandrians heard that the mother died by the parricide of her own son, they drove him into banishment, and sent to Cyprus for Ptolemy Lathyrus, to whom they restored the kingdom, as by right belonged to him; which he held without interruption to the end of his life, about eight years after^m this. Alexander the next year after his banishment, got some ships together to attempt a return to Egypt, but was encountered at sea by Tyrrhus, admiral to Lathyrus's fleet; and being vanquished by him, fled to Myra in Lycia; from whence afterwards, sailing towards Cyprus, for executing some design that he had upon that island, he was met by Chæreas, another sea commander for Lathyrus, and being over-borne by him, perished in the fight.

In the meantime the civil war went on in Judea

* Ant. C. 89. Al. Jannæus 17. 1 Justin lib. 39 cap. 4. Eusebius in Chronico sub Olymp. 171. Pausanias in Atticis, p. m. 21 in editione Lipsiz 1696. ^m Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri 235.

deas between Alexander Jannæus and the Jews his subjects; and though he had the better of them in all encounters, yet he could not bring them to submit. To procure peace, he offered to grant them any thing they should desire: They all answered, "Then let him cut his own throat." But because they wanted forces able to revenge their cause against their native prince, they sent to Damascus to call Demetrius Eucærus, who then reigned there, to their assistance; and upon their invitation, he came into Judea, with an army consisting of three thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, Syrians and Jews. Alexander encountered him with 6200 Greek mercenaries, and twenty thousand Jews, but was overthrown with so great a slaughter, that he lost all his Greek mercenaries, and the greater part of his other forces; and was driven with the poor remnants of his broken army to the mountains; where he was relieved by an unexpected turn of fortune: For the Jews, that had been his enemies, had such compassion on him, that six thousand of them went over to him. Demetrius fearing that the rest would revolt too, departed out of Judea: And soon after marched against his brother Philip, and having taken Antioch from him, forced him into Bærrhea, now called Aleppo, and there besieged him with an army of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse. But Straton, prince of Bærrhea and friend to Philip, called thither Zizus, an Arabian king, and Mithridates Sinaces, a Parthian commander; who having vanquished Demetrius,

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21. & 22.

Demetrius, and taken him prisoner^o, sent him to Mithridates king of Parthia, who entertained him kindly till he fell sick and died. After this victory, Philip released all the Antiochians who were taken prisoners in the fight and defeat, and sent them home without ransom; which so far ingratiated him with that city, that on his return thither, he was received with the general acclamation of the people; and for some time he reigned over Syria without a competitor.

Alexander Jannæus having got together an army after the retreat of Demetrius, vanquished the rebellious Jews in all the conflicts he had with them, yet could bring them to no terms of peace. But next year^{*} he gave them a terrible blow in a decisive battle; for he cut off the major part of them in the action, and drove those who survived into Bethome^p, where he besieged them; and soon after having taken the city, and all those who fled thither for refuge, he carried eight hundred of them to Jerusalem[†], and there crucified them all in one day, and caused their wives and children to be slain before their face, while they hung dying on the crosses; which was a severity not to be justified. While this was a-doing, he made a feast for his wives and concubines near the place of execution^q, the sight whereof was a main part of the entertainment. From hence Alexander had the name of Thracidas, or the Thracian; these people being most infamous for barbarous cruelties; and indeed this was a most inhuman

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 22.

^{*} Ant. C. 88. Al. Jannæus 18.

^p Joseph. lib. 13. cap. 22. [†] Ant. C. 86. Al. Jannæus. 20. ^q Joseph. lib. 13. cap. 23, & de Bell. Jud. lib. 1. cap. 4.

human action. However, it had this effect, that the remainder of the rebel party being terrified by it, fled the country. And after this Alexander had no more disturbance at home to the day of his death. Thus ended this rebellion, after it had lasted six years, and had cost the lives of 50,000 Jews^r who opposed their king.

About this time Anna the prophetess, the daughter of Phanneel, of the tribe of Asher, became a widow; and, without marrying any more, gave herself up wholly to the service of God, Luke ii. 36, 37. in the temple, with fasting and prayer night and day.

Antiochus Dionysius, the youngest of the five sons of Grypus^r, while his brother Philip was employed in the northern parts of Syria, seized Damascus, and reigned there: But Philip returning, when Antiochus Dionysius was making war upon Aretas king of Arabia Petraea, got again into Damascus, by the help of Milesius the captain of the castle. Philip not rewarding Milesius as he expected, he took the opportunity, while his new guest was abroad, to shut the gates against him, and keep the city for Antiochus, who hearing of the invasion, returned out of Arabia^r, and had his capital city restored to him again. Whereupon Philip retreating, Antiochus made another expedition against Aretas, with an army of eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, taking his way through Judea, being the best road. Alexander Jannæus, jealous of his designs, for twenty of our miles, between Joppa and Antipatris, drew lines, which

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21. prope finem.

^r See page 42.

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 23. & de Bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 4.

which he fortified with wooden towers at a convenient distance from each other. But these proved of no effect: For Antiochus coming the same way, burnt the towers; and breaking through the lines and ditches, passed into Arabia; where he was surprized at a disadvantage by Aretas, slain in battle, and had most of his forces cut off, and the rest who escaped, got into a village called Cana, where they perished for want of bread. Whereupon Aretas became king of Coelesyria, not by conquest after this victory, but by election of the people of Damascus, in opposition to Ptolemy the son of Mennæus prince of Chalcis, whom they liked not. So soon as Aretas was settled in the government, he made an expedition into Judea against Alexander, and had the better of him in a battle near Adida; but a treaty being commenced between them, all further hostilities were superseded by the peace.

Many places on the borders of Arabia having revolted from Alexander, while he was engaged in wars with the Jews his rebellious subjects, he being now free of these troubles, marched over Jordan to reduce them*; and having taken Pella and Dia, sat down before Gerasa^u, to which place Theodorus the son of Zeno had removed his treasure, upon deserting Amathus, as already* related, which Alexander taking the city gained. And after this he enlarged his conquests beyond Jordan, where he took Gaulana, Seleucia, and other places, and made himself master of the valley of Antiochus, and strong fortrefs of Gamala. One Demetrius was

*Ant. C. 84. Al Jannæus 22 ^u Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 23 & de Bello Jud. lib. I cap. 4. * See page 44.

was master of these, whom Alexander turned out and made him prisoner. And at that time the Jews were possessed of many parts of Phoenicia, as Straton's tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus, Gaza, Anthedon, and Rhinocorura. They extended their conquests in Idumæa, and over Adora, Marissa, Samaria, and over to the mountains Carmel and Tabor, also to Scythopolis and Gadara, to the towns of Moab, Hesbon, Medeba, Lemba, Zara and Pelta; which last they destroyed, because the inhabitants would not receive the Jewish rites. Alexander returning to Jerusalem, after he had been absent from it three years on this expedition, was received with the joyful acclamations of the people for his great successes. Then enjoying full ease, he gave himself up to luxury and drunkenness, whereby he contracted a quartan ague, which he could never get rid of as long as he lived; but died of it three years after this, as shall be observed in the sequel of this history.

The Syrians being weary of the continual wars made in their country, by the princes of the race of Seleucus, debating about the sovereignty, and not being able to bear the devastations, bloodshed, and innumerable calamities which they endured upon these occasions, resolved to reject them all at once, and to call in some foreign prince to rule over them, who might deliver them from these miseries, and settle their country in peace. Some were for Mithridates king of Pontus; but he was already engaged in a war with the Romans, in which

which they did not desire to be concerned. Others were for Ptolemy Lathyrus king of Egypt: But he had been a constant enemy to their country. At last they all agreed on Tigranes king of Armenia, who besides the great power he had in his own dominions, was confederated with Parthia, and in a near alliance to Mithridates, by marrying his daughter. As soon as this was notified to him by ambassadors, he came to Syria, and took possession of that kingdom, and reigned there eighteen years*, till he was subdued by Lucullus, and the kingdom taken from him by Pompey, and added to the Roman empire. Here ends the Syrian kings of the Macedonian race, who had any shadow of sovereign power, in the eighty-third year before our Saviour's birth; which is the 3867th year from the creation of the world, and of the Julian period 4631. And here I conclude this chapter.

* Justin, lib. 40. cap. 1. Usseri annales ad annum dictum, p. m. 380.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The History of the Jews under the Roman Empire, from the conquest of Judea by Pompey, to the destruction of Jerusalem and desolation of that country, by the Emperors, Vespasian, Titus and Hadrian; where the Roman affairs, from the building of the city to the birth of Christ, are also explained.

THE study of the Roman history, from the ancient and first writers thereof, is a very large subject, and requireth good skill in Greek and Latin authors. It is no easy task to read and understand the histories of Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius, Halicarnassensis, Polybius, Dion Cassius, Appian and Plutarch, all originally written in Greek; with Livy, Sallust, Cæsar, Scutonium and Cornelius Tacitus who wrote in Latin; besides the compendizers of the Roman story, as, Florus, Velleius Paterculus, Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, Justin, Cornelius Nepos, Paulus Diaconus and others. There are also many other ancient books that may give light into their affairs, as Pliny's *Natural History*, the *Memorable Examples* of Valerius Maximus, Gellius's *Noctes Atticæ*, Macrobius, the *Warlike Stratagems* written by Frontinus and Polyæmus, Athenæus's *Deipnosophists*, or *Table-discourses of Philosophers*, Cæcilius, and other writers of their rustic affairs; their orators, as Cicero and Quintilian; their

poets, as, Plautus, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Catullus, Propertius, and others of a later date. Nor will the reading of any one of these historians give a complete view of the Roman affairs; for many of their writings are transmitted to us mangled and imperfect, the greater part of them being lost in obscure ages, wherein learning suffered a great shipwreck. Hence we sometimes are obliged, for want of better authorities, to make use of the Epitomes or contents of Livy, where his books are lost, the *Prologues* of Trogus Pompeius, and the collections of the learned Photius, who had seen many of these authors which are now perished. From those writers, Frenshemius and Dujatius have some years ago made a supplement to Livy, which is a book useful in its kind. It is true, there may be a shorter way of reading the Roman history, though not so sure nor so instructing, by perusing moderns who have done it in English, as, Echard's *Roman History*, the Abbot de Vertot's *Revolutions of the Roman Republic*, writ originally in French, and rendered into English, Howel's *General History*, *Roman History*, by Fathers Catrou and Rouille, and several others.

§ 2. I might, if the nature of this performance did allow, offer some critical remarks upon the principal Roman authors, and the time wherein they wrote; but in this I shall be very compendious. Diodorus Siculus was born at Agyrium in Sicily, from whence he had the name of Siculus, and is the author of the General History called his *Bibliotheca*. In collecting and writing of which, he employed thirty years, travelling over most of the countries whose affairs he was to describe.

scribe. For this purpose, he tells us^a, he went into Egypt in the first year of the 180th Olympiad, which was the sixtieth year before the birth of Christ, Ptolemy, surnamed Dionysius Nêc, or *The Nero Bacchus*, then reigning there. His *Bibliotheca Historica* contained forty books, of which only fifteen are now remaining, and some few fragments and abstracts of the rest in the works of other writers. It begins from the ancientest times, mentioning some affairs and fables before the Trojan war, (for which, as he himself owns^a, there was no certainty) and was continued to the wars carried on by Julius Cæsar against the Gauls. The five first books are all entire, but the next five are now all wanting. The other ten remaining, are from the tenth to the twentieth inclusive, where all that is now extant of that author ends, in the year of Rome 452, M. Livius Dentor, and M. Æmilius Paulus being then consuls. Of the other twenty-five books, we have nothing but fragments: Had they been still entire, so valuable an history would have been very useful to the learned. The five first books, though intermixt with fables, contain several valuable particulars, which may afford some light to the holy scriptures, and the next five would have yielded more, and a greater discovery of the vanity and wickedness of heathenism, (as we may guess by the contents of the sixth book) had they been extant: For which reason the loss of those five is to be more lamented than of all the other twenty. This author lived to a very great age; for he continued to the middle of the reign of Augustus.

E 2

Dionysius

^a Biblioth. Historica, lib. 1. cap. 4. 2.

^b Ibid.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis began to write his Roman history seven years before the birth of Christ, and continued it down, in twenty books, to the time of the first Punic war; where Polybius commenced: But of those twenty books, only eleven now remain entire, wherein he is as full and accurate as any who writes of the Roman affairs in that period. He came to Rome twenty-two years before he began his composition, a great part of which time he spent in gathering materials for it. Besides his history of Roman Antiquities, he hath some valuable discourses on rhetoric and criticism extant at the end of his works.

Of Polybius I shall discourse afterwards, and therefore I now go to Appian of Alexandria, who flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, that is, in the second century of the Christian Era. He had been a lawyer for some time at Rome, and wrote his history in twenty four books*, beginning with the pretended descent of the Romans from Æneas, and continuing it down to the reign of Augustus, with some occurrences to the time of Trajan. But of this great work there remains now only his treatises of the Carthaginian, Syrian, Parthian, Mithridatic, Iberian, Illyrian, and Hanniballic affairs, with five books of the civil wars, and a fragment concerning the Germans. He is said to have borrowed many things from Polybius and Plutarch. However, in my opinion, Appian may be very useful to an historian.

Dion Cassius lived in the time of M. Aurelius and Alexander Severus, Roman emperors: We

find

* Appian. in Præfatione. Vossius de Hist. Græcis. p. 122.

find him consul with the latter A. D. 229. He was born at Nice in Bithynia, but lived for a great part of his time at Rome, where he enjoyed several honourable offices. In his old age, with leave of the court, he retired to his native country, where he wrote his history of Roman affairs, from the building of the city to the reign of Alexander Severus, in eighty books; of which thirty-four, and a part of the thirty-fifth are lost, in the great shipwreck which learned authors sustained in the dark ages. Twenty-five of his books are still remaining, beginning with the actions of Lucullus, and ending with the death of the Emperor Claudius. The following part of his history is also lost, but we have some compend thereof by Xiphillin. He is a valuable author, imitating Thucydides in his speeches, though in a more plain, easy style: Only he is blamed by Vossius^a for too sharp reflections against some eminent Romans, as, Cicero, Brutus, Cassius and Seneca.

Plutarch was born in Cheronæa, a city of Bœotia, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius; and began to be much noticed in the reigns of Domitian, Nerva and Trajan, by whom he was advanced to several honours. Eusebius^c placeth him in the third year of Hadrian, that is, A. D. 122. His eminent skill in heathen philosophy, philology and history, may be seen in his *Lives and Morals*, which are both very useful in their kind. By the first of these, I mean his *Lives of the illustrious men of Greece and Rome*, he deserves the character of one who hath given excellent memoirs for mak-

E 3

ing

^a Vossius de Hist. Græcis, p. 236.

^c In Chronico.

ing up the Greek and Roman histories, and hath left an excellent pattern to all biographers who shall succeed him.

I am not to go upon the many Greek historians who have wrote of the Roman affairs, but are now altogether lost, which the curious may find in the learned Gerard Vossius, *De Historicis Graecis*; but shall proceed to those who have writ the Roman history in Latin. In entering upon this subject, it may be observed, that soon after the founding of Rome, the Pontifex Maximus used to record the most memorable things that happened in his time by way of annals, without any ornament, as Cicero^f tells us, being rather a register of the facts, than any finished history: But whatever those annals were, they all perished when the city was burnt by the Gauls^g. The poets Ennius and Nævius wrote some part of the Roman history in verse; Fabius Pictor, Cincius Alimentus, Scribonius Libo, Piso, and some others^h, wrote in prose; but all these being lost, I shall here only offer some character of the ancient Latin historians that remain in whole or in part, and of some other ancient authors that may give light to those affairs. Among whom Titus Livius deserveth the first room. He was born at Padua, and began to write his history after Augustus's victory at Actiumⁱ, which was in the year of Rome 725. He survived that emperor, and is recorded by Eusebius^j to have died in the fourth year of Tiberius, the same year with Ovid the poet. He

^f De Oratore, lib. 2 cap. 12. ^g Livius, lib. 6. ^h See Gerard Vossius de Hist. Latinis, p. 1, — 60. edit. 1651. ⁱ Livius, lib. 1. ^j In Chronico. ad Ann. Christi 79.

wrote the Roman history from the building of the city to the war in Germany by Drusus, in 140, or rather in 142 books; of which thirty-five now only remain, for the second decad is all lost, and all after the forty-fifth book: As to the rest, we have only the contents, or epitomes. This author excels in a plain, elegant Latin style, and is very full and copious in his narration. Though some have censured him as a little too verbose and circumstantial, and too much given to prodigies and Patavinity, I chuse rather to forbear passing any judgment against so valuable an historian.

Sallust, or, as his name more fully reads, Crispus Sallustius, was born in the year of Rome 668, and died four years before the Actiac victory^k. He enjoyed the prætorship^l, and some other honourable offices at Rome; was made governor of Numidia by Julius Cæsar, which province he plundered to enrich himself^m, and with the money bought fine houses and gardens at Rome: So that any praise that is due to him is not for his life, but for his books. He wrote a large Roman history; of which there now only remains, his treatises of the Catilinarian conspiracy and of the Jugurthine war, four short orations, two epistles, and a few scattered sentences and fragments gathered out of several authors. He is blamed for his preface, which is large enough if he had been to write the history of the world, and might stand before any other book as well as his.

The life and actions of Julius Cæsar shall be afterwards narrated. His commentaries of his war with

^k In Chronico. ad Olymp. 186. ^l Hirtius de bello Africano, non longe ab initio. ^m Dion Cassius, lib. 43. p. 246.

with the Gauls are exceedingly well writ, suitable to the genius of so great a man, and so good an author. Appian^a tells us, That Mark Anthony made some alterations in them after Cæsar's death. Aulus Hirtius, who was consul at Rome with Vibius Pansa, did write the eighth book of Cæsar's war with the Gauls, and also the Alexandrian and African wars, in an elegant style.

C. Cornelius Tacitus flourished in the time of the Emperor Trajan, that is, about the beginning of the second century, and wrote thirty books of history^b, of which only five are now remaining, so that from the reign of Galba to that of Cocceius Nerva, is now wanting, which is the space of twenty one years. He wrote also sixteen books of annals from the death of Augustus to Nero; where four books are also lost, from the seventh to the eleventh. We have his short treatises of the manners of the Germans, and of the life of Julius Agricola his father-in-law. He was a great man, a good orator, an excellent politician; and writes in a fine concise style, which few can imitate.

Suetonius Tranquillus, who wrote the lives of the twelve Cæsars, was a person employed to write letters for the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian^c. He is a very sincere author, who doth not spare the faults of great men; but is rather a biographer than an historian.

As to the compendizers of the Roman history: L. Annæus Florus wrote four books of the Roman history about the time of Trajan and Hadrian.

^a De bellis civilibus, lib. 3. p. m. 859. cap. xlv. ^b Spartianus in Hadriano.

^c Hieronymus in Zecharia,

an *. He is an elegant author, only his style is too florid and poetical for an historian, nor is he accurate in his chronology. Velleius Paterculus was of a noble Roman family of the senatorian rank. His two books that remain, are in an elegant style, where we may meet with curious characters and fine remarks, not to be found in other Roman authors; but when he comes near his own time, he flatters a little too much the Augustan family, and the house of Sejanus. Eutropius, an Italian, hath writ a breviary, or compend, of the Roman affairs, in a plain, easy strain, from the building of the city to the reign of Valens, to whom he dedicates his book, about the year of our Lord 365. Sextus Aurelius Victor wrote his books of illustrious Romans, and of the Roman emperors, from Julius Cæsar to Julian, called *The Apostate*: To which is frequently prefixed a treatise, entitled *Origo Gentis Romanæ*; which seems to be done by the same author. Paulus Diaconus, hath continued this compendious history two centuries lower.

Long before any of these compendizers, did Cornelius Nepos write his lives of twenty-two eminent captains among the Greeks, and of Atticus a Roman: For he wrote in the time of Cæsar's dictatorship. There were several other treatises done by him †, which are now lost. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, flourished, as some think, Justin; who is author of the compend of history called by his name: It is in an easy style, but there is little good order or exact chronology in it.

* Flori Proæmium, in fine.

† See Vossius de Hist. Latinis, lib. 2. cap. 14.

it. If the history of Trogus Pompeius, writ in the time of Cæsar and Pompey, had been extant; which Justin abridged, this had been a more useful work.

Besides these historians, there are many other ancient authors that may give light into the Roman affairs, and into the history of those, and perhaps also of elder times; as particularly Pliny's history of the world, which he wrote in Nero's reign; and contains natural history, ancient geography, and many other valuable things. Valerius Maximus wrote nine books of memorable actions and sayings both of Romans and foreigners, and seems to have flourished about the end of Tiberius's reign, though his style does not resemble that age, when Latin was so pure. Gellius's *Noctes Atticæ*, and *Athenæus Deipnosophists* in fifteen books, contain many observations on the learning, manners, and customs of the ancients, very useful to an historian, and seem to have been composed about the end of the second century. Sextus Julius Frontinus, a prætor in the city, in the reigns of Vespasian and Titus¹, wrote his *Warlike Stratagems*. The same argument is managed by Polyænus, a barrister in the time of Antoninus Pius, in Greek, in eight books. About the same time Ælian, an Italian, wrote in Greek his various history, and his books of *Animals*. Columella wrote upon rustic affairs, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius. His book is extant, and may be useful. Aurelius Macrobius lived about the end of the fourth century, being one of the Emperor Theodosius's chamberlains.

¹ Tacitus Hist. lib. 4. Vossius de Hist. Latinis, p. 739.

chamberlains. He composed some commentaries upon that piece of Cicero, called *Scipio's Dream*, and his *Saturnalia*, where is a pleasant mixture of critics and antiquities. There is also extant a fragment of *Julius Obsequens de Prodigis*. He lived in the reign of Honorius, near the end of the fourth century.

Strabo is an author that deserves more particularly to be considered. He was born at Amasia in Pontus, and became a Peripatetic philosopher, and published his *Geography* in Greek in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius, being then a very old man. The ancients have scarce left any work more valuable; for 'tis done with great judgment and care, he having travelled over almost all the places which he describes; and his accounts are so exact, that these parts may be known by them to this very day. He also wrote a history which Josephus quotes and hath some passages out of it; but excepting a few such fragments dispersed in several authors, that history is entirely lost. Pomponius Mela, a Spaniard, hath also wrote three books of geography, or of the situation of the world, about the time of the Emperor Claudius; and there are three little tomes of ancient Greek geographers, but most of those relate to the times of Alexander the Great, and the Greek monarchy.

Also Paulus Orosius, by profession a Christian, and by nation a Spaniard, when Rome was taken by the Goths, in the beginning of the fifth century, and the Gentiles alledged that Christianity brought on these calamities, at the desire of Augustin, bi-

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shop of Hippo, wrote seven books, which he entitled, *Adversus Paganos*, shewing that calamities did always happen in every age, since the creation of the world, as much as since Christianity prevailed. This book, containing a general history, and especially of the Roman affairs, may afford some useful hints to such as are inquisitive after these matters.

The Roman orators are not to be neglected. In popular commonwealths, eloquence became most necessary for those that would gain the affections, or manage any interest with the people; and it was the particular care of all the great men in Rome, to be masters of this art. Most of their great captains were good scholars, and sufficient orators, if we except Marius, a rough, cruel man, and some few others. Yet there are not many of them who have left any writings of this kind on record. Quintus Hortensius, and M. Tullius Cicero, were two of the most eminent orators of their time. We have scarce any thing of the first now extant. As for Cicero, I shall have occasion to take notice of his life and death in its proper place; And as to his works on philosophy, law, and oratory, these are so well known, that they need no character from me. When he retired from public business, in the time of Caesar's dictatorship, he wrote his philosophical works for most part by way of dialogue, wherein he rendered this study more sweet and easy than had been done by the Greeks: And the whole of his works are useful to the learned and curious. Fabius Quintilian was another excellent orator, born in the time of Nero, brought to Rome by Galba; where he lived

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in the time of Vespasian and Domitian, having a great share in their favour. He taught eloquence in that great city, and Domitian committed to him the care of the education of his nephews. His institutions of rhetoric are extant, and to this day deserve the name of a complete piece.

I go now to the Roman poets. The first writers of Roman history composed their books in verse. These are now lost, as are also the most ancient of their poets, as Livius Andronicus, a writer of tragedies, about the year of Rome 514, before the birth of Christ 240. Nævius, who wrote dramatic pieces, in the year of Rome 519. Soon after him M. Pacuvius and L. Attius composed some tragedies. But M. Plautus is the first Roman poet of whom any thing entire hath been transmitted to us. He was born at Sarsina in Umbria; and taking himself to merchandizing, he lost all his goods, and was obliged to live by serving a baker: But in spare hours he applied himself to write comedies, whereof twenty remain. He died in the year of Rome 570; Claudius Pulcher and Publius Licinius being then consuls*. There is a great deal of spirit and art in his works.

Publius Terentius, born at Carthage in Africa, slave to Terentius Lucanus at Rome, where, by his wit and good mien, he soon obtained his liberty, and became the next comic poet. He happily hit upon the strain of a comedy, and left some pieces of that kind, which few have been able to imitate, and is so elegant in a pure style and neat expression,

* Vide Ger. Vossium de Hist. Lat. p. 6. & de Poetis Latin. p. 1.—8.

* Cicero in Bruto, cap. 15. Hieron. in Chron. ad Olymp. 145.

expression, that Cicero, a good judge, frequently commends him for it. We have six of his comedies. He died in the year of Rome 595. About that time C. Lucilius, a Roman knight, great-uncle, by the mother's side, to Pompey the Great, wrote satires, being the first of that kind among the Romans, as Quintilian and Pliny assure us: His books are lost.

Titus Lucretius Carus was the first at Rome who turned natural philosophy into verse. He had studied at Athens, where he drunk in the principles of Epicurus. He killed himself in the 44th year of his age, in a rage, which he had been cast into by some noxious liquor^a, about the year of Rome 700. His six books of the nature of things, according to the principles of Epicurus, in fine hexameter verse still remain. Mr. Creech hath made an excellent translation of them into English, with proper caveats against his dangerous principles.

G. Catullus, a very polite poet^a, was born at Verona, in the seventh consulate of Marius and second of Cinna, 86 years before the birth of Christ, and died, aged 36. Of his epigrams there remain 117: His other works are lost. His style is native and elegant, soft and tender, though in his amours with his Lesbia, he is sometimes a little smutty. The limits I have confined myself to, will not allow me to make any enquiries about the Latin poets after this, which are lost^b, but shall only give some short remarks upon those which remain.

The

^a Cicero de Inventione, lib. 1. cap. 19, 23. De optimo genere oratorum, cap. 18 & alibi, Euseb. in Chron. ad Olymp. 195. ^b Ibid. Olymp. 171.

^a Ibid. ad Olymp. 173. ^b De his vide Vossium de Poetis Latinis.

The best of the Latin poets flourished in the reign of the the Emperor Augustus, as particularly Publius Virgilius Maro, who was born in the territory of Mantua in the year of Rome 684, when he went to the city, his great merit gained him soon the friendship of the best wits and greatest men of that age, especially of Augustus, Mæcenas and Pollio; and no wonder, for he raised Latin poetry to the highest degree to which it ever arrived. Hence he is called the *Prince of Poets*. He composed his eclogues in imitation of Theocritus, his *Georgics* in imitation of Hesiod, and his *Aeneid* like Homer's *Iliad*. 'Tis said he laboured on this last work eleven years, and yet left it unfinished. He died nineteen years before the birth of Christ, in the fifty-first year of his age, and 735th of Rome.

Quintus Horatius Flaccus was born at Venusia, in the territory of Naples, and died in the fifty-seventh year of his age, nine years after Virgil, to whom he was an intimate friend. He fought at the battle of Philippi for Brutus and Cassius. His wit and poetry made him a favourite to Augustus and Mæcenas; and indeed he excelled in two kinds of poetry, which are very different, *Lyric* and *Satire*. Of the first we have five books of *Odes*, and of the second two books of *Satires* and two of epistles. His *Art of Poetry* is a master-piece in its kind.

Sextus Aurelius Propertius was a native of Bevagna in Umbria. Losing the greatest part of his estate at the taking of Perusa, he came to Rome, where he had the favour and esteem of Mæcenas and Cornelius Gallus. He excels in elegies,

gies, in which kind of verse he insists much upon his love to a maid, called Hostia, to whom he gives the name of Cynthia. He is thought to have died after Virgil, and before Horace. Albius Tibullus, a Roman, lived about the same time; and wrote the same kind of amorous verses, which were then well received. There are six elegies said to be writ by Cornelius Gallus, printed with some editions of Tibullus and Propertius: But the learned now agree that they were really composed by Corn. Maximianus.

Publius Ovidius Naso was born at Sulmo, a city of the Peligni, in the year of Rome 711, in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa. In his youth he bore arms under Marcus Varro. By his father's importunity he was obliged to study the laws; but his inclination from his younger years leading him to poetry, after his father's death he wholly devoted himself to that beloved art; and was much admired at the court of Augustus for the natural easiness of his verse, and sweetness of his expression. For a time he was in good esteem with that emperor, who afterwards banished him to the province of Pontus in Europe; some say, for making love to Julia, Augustus's daughter, whom he courted under the name of Corinna; others presume, that it was for being too familiar with the empress Livia, and that for her sake he wrote his books, *De Arte Amandi*, *Of the Art of Loving*. In his exile he spent six winters; and in the beginning of the seventh year of his banishment he was recalled to Rome.

^a *Amorum*, lib. 3. eleg. 15. ^b *Tristium*, lib. 3. eleg. 2. ^c *De Ponto*, lib. 4. eleg. 13. *ad Carum*, Sed me jam, Care, nivali Sexta relegatum brutus sub axe videt.

ment he died, being the seventeenth year of the Christian Era, and the third of Tiberius's reign. We have still of his works fifteen books of *Moral maxims*, six of *Fasts*, the other six being lost: Also we have his *Elegies*, his *Epistles*, his books of *Love*, and of the *Art of Loving*, with his *Ibids*. His style is sweet, agreeable, and no way forced.

Phaedrus, a native of Thrace, an enfranchised servant of Augustus, wrote his fables under the reign of Tiberius, and excels in purity and delicateness of language. Mamilius wrote his astronomy in fine verse in the same age; for he dedicated it to Augustus. His work still remains in five books. Aulus Persius Flaccus wrote satires, of which there are six remaining, a little obscure, but full of flame and good sense. He died in the reign of Nero, the sixty-second year after the birth of Christ, and the twenty-ninth of his age.

About the same time flourished M. Annæus Lucanus, born at Corduba in Spain. Nero envied him the glory he gained by his poetry, in which he wrote very much, though nothing now remains of him but his *Pharsalia*, or ten books of the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, in elegant Hexameters; and because this is a subject more proper for an historian than for a poet, Gerard Vossius* puts him among the number of the writers of history.

The only tragical poet we have in that age is Seneca, who we conceive is not the same with Annæus Seneca, the philosopher: However, his thoughts are sublime, and his style is good. Pe-

* Mamili Astronomicon, lib. 1. lin. 8. p.

* De Historicis Latinis. p. 137.

trinius Arbuter, a satirical poet about that time, was a favourite of Nero, and paints his vices in too plain terms.

C. Silius Italicus, born at Old Seville in Spain, called Italica, was consul at Rome when Nero died; and being pretty well advanced in years when he wrote his poem of the second Punic war in seventeen books, there is, as the younger Pliny observed, more of pains than wit in this performance: Yet there are some valuable hints which are not to be found in others who write on this subject^a. He was a rich man, having a country-farm which formerly was Cicero's, and another which contained Virgil's tomb: Yet he is said to have starved himself to death when aged seventy-five. His books were not found till the council of Basil, that is, about the year of our Lord 1431.

C. Valerius Flaccus, born at Sezza in Campagna di Roma, flourished under the Emperor Domitian. He hath wrote eight books, of the expedition of the Argonauts, in Hexameters. The facts are more curious than the poesy. P. Papinius Statius of Naples had a great share in Domitian's favour and friendship, to whom he dedicated his poem, called *Thebais*, in twelve books, his *Achilleis*, in two, and his *Sylva*, in five books. He died at Naples, not long after Domitian his patron. Decimus Junius Juvenalis, born at Aquinum in Italy, flourished under Nero, and is said to have lived to the twelfth year of the Emperor Hadrian. His satires are very elegant, being writ in a sharp, biting style, against the vices of that age, and the manners

^a Vossius de Historicis Latinis, p. 155.

manners of Rome, which he was well acquainted with. Valerius Martialis was born at Bilbilis, a town of the ancient Celtiberia, came to Rome at the age of twenty-one, lived there thirty-five years, and died in the reign of Trajan. We have fourteen books of his epigrams, of which many are witty, and others mean and smutty. Nor are we to forget Claudian, an eminent poet in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, about the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth century, in whom Pagan poetry, then declining, did for a short time revive. I have given some account of the most considerable Roman authors now extant in history, philosophy, oratory, and poetry, till the second century, and some of them beyond it. The Pagan writers after this, are not so considerable, nor do they fall within my present undertaking.

Notwithstanding the multitude of those authors, there are about five hundred years of the Roman history very uncertain for want of sufficient vouchers, acquainted with the times whereof they wrote. It is certain we have no profane history now extant, (I do not speak of the sacred history of the scriptures) written before the time of Julius Cæsar, that is, about sixty years before the birth of Christ, except these four, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius. As to the first three I have discoursed of them formerly, when treating of the affairs and learning of Greece¹. They do not touch the Roman affairs: In their time Rome was but an obscure place, little noticed in the world.

world. As to Polybius, he indeed wrote his history at Rome, deducing his narration from the first Punic war, or more fully from the second Punic war to the end of the third, for the space of fifty-three years: And because I reserved to speak of this author^k, I shall observe, that of the forty books Polybius wrote, there are now only five remain entire: All that we have of the rest, is only fragments and abstracts. His discourse concerning virtue and vice, printed at the end of his works in a late edition^l, is not properly a part of the history; he was by birth of Megalopolis in Arcadia, the son of Lycortas, the famous supporter of the Achaean commonwealth. The Romans being jealous of what this rising republic might come to, resolved to suppress it, and in order thereto, they forced from them a thousand of the best of their men, to live in Italy in the manner of hostages, of whom this historian was the chief. In his confinement he had leisure to write this history. He was highly esteemed by Scipio Africanus, junior, who carried him with him to Africa to the third Punic war; where it was in great measure owing to his counsel and advice, that Scipio ended that affair so soon, and with such success; with the end whereof, Polybius ended his history, much grieved that at the same time the Achaean commonwealth came to its fatal period, in the destruction of Corinth, and subjecting the cities and states of which it did consist to the Roman yoke. But since Polybius, the first writer of the Roman history extant, com-

menceth

^k See page 36.
p. 1363. to 1496.

^l See Polybius in the edition at Amsterdam 1670.

menceth his narration only from the first Punic war, or rather from the beginning of the second, which was in the year of Rome 536, that is, from the creation of the world 3735, before the birth of Christ 215, we can have no light from him concerning times before this.

§ 3. It is now time to give a short view of the Roman affairs, from such helps as remaining authors afford. In the entry we may notice, that the story of the Aborigenes, of *Æneas* and his descendants in *Alba*, is generally looked upon as fictitious, or as a proper subject for poets to divert their fancy; where they may amuse themselves and others, with fables concerning times of which they had no distinct knowledge from any plain historical documents. *Strabo*, one of the most judicious writers among the ancients, assures us^m, "That *Æneas* staid in the country of the Trojans, and that he and his posterity succeeded to that kingdom, because the offspring of *Priamus* was entirely cut off." And the learned *Bochart* hath made it very probableⁿ, that *Æneas* never came into Italy, nor were the Romans descended from the Trojans, the former having no affinity either in rites or language with the latter. But leaving those fabulous times, the date of the building of Rome is commonly reckoned on the first year of the seventh Olympiad, 753 years before the birth of Christ. Now, if we compute our Lord's birth, with very good chronologers, in the year 3950 from the creation, the building of Rome by *Romulus*, (with which their history

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^m *Strabo* lib. 13 p. 608. ⁿ *Bochart* de questione num *Æneas* unquam fuerit in Italia? In annexis ad *Phaleg*, edit. *Francosurti* 1694.

commenceeth) will be in the year of the world 3197, the sixth year of the reign of Jotham king of Judea, and the seventh of Pekah king of Israel^o. Though this be no ancient record, when compared with the chronology and history of the Jews; yet, even as to a considerable part of that time, namely, from the building of Rome to the expelling of the kings, and erecting the consular state, which is computed two hundred and forty-four years, they had no certain documents^p, as Plutarch owns: They had no evidence for their history and chronology before the censors tables, and the *Fasti Consulares*, which could not be till these offices were erected after the expulsion of their kings.

Romulus was their first king. He is said to have been born of Rhea, a vestal virgin, the daughter of Numitor, and that she was got with child by Mars the God of war, that she brought forth twins, called Romulus and Remus, who were cast into the river Tiber, by order of Amulius their uncle, to be drowned, but the wind and stream were so favourable, that at the fall of the water they were left alive upon the dry ground, and there found by Laurentius the herdsman of Amulius, and suckled by a wolf, or rather by the herdsman's wife, called Lupa; that these boys were educated among the shepherds, and when they were come to age, being informed of Amulius's designs to have them killed, they murdered him and set up their grandfather Numitor on his throne. Afterwards, by the advice of Romulus, they built the city

^o Helvici Tab. Chronologica. ^p Plutarch. in Numa, near the beginning. Propagation of Christianity, chap. 1.

city Rome upon the Palatine hill, and surrounded it with a ditch; which when Remus despised; he was killed, and the foundations of this warlike city consecrated with his bloody. Thus Romulus became sole king of this small city, in which he built an Asylum, to be a receptacle to malefactors and discontented persons, who came thither in great numbers from neighbouring parts. He divided the people into three tribes, and made some patricians, or nobility, others plebeians, or commons; he chose a senate of a hundred men of the first rank, called Patres Conscripti, (their number was afterwards increased) and appointed three hundred celeres for his guard, and twelve lictors, or serjeants, who went before him with their bundles of rods and axes, called Fasces, signifying the different punishments which he might inflict. When he considered that his new founded city wanted women to increase posterity, he appointed a solemn feast and game in honour of Neptune, to which all sorts of people resorted from the neighbourhood, and especially from among the Sabines; and out of this flock, the Romans, with drawn swords, surpris'd and carried off six hundred and eighty-three virgins, to whom husbands were appointed. This occasioned several battles with the Sabines, wherein the Romans for the most part were victors. They also conquered Fidenæ and some places among the Veii; for having no trade nor territory of their own sufficient to support them, they lived by robbing and plundering their neighbours. After a reign of thirty-seven years, Romulus died, or was destroyed

stroyed by the senate? for his tyranny, and is said to have been deified.

After a short interregnum, Numa Pompilius was called, by the senate, from Cures, in the territory of the Sabines, when he was forty years old, to be the second king of Rome. He contrived their religion to answer the necessities of the state, that their soothsayers with their victims and auguries might excite hope or fear as the necessity of their affairs did require; and provided, that the priests might be chosen from among the best of the people, that they might be the more regarded. The Roman idolatry which he taught was no other than the Greek heathenism; for almost all Italy was then planted with colonies from Greece: And therefore the Romans, as well as the rest of the Italian cities, looked on Delphos as the principal place of their worship, with the same veneration as the Greeks, and had frequent recourse thither on religious accounts. Numa, while he lived among the Sabines, being accurately versed in this religion, and a diligent practiser thereof, and finding the Romans before his time had minded little else but fighting, he judged it needful to instruct them therein, and framed several rules and constitutions for the regular practice of the same: All which he pretended he had received from the goddess Egeria, "That (as Florus^a speaks) the barbarous people might the better entertain them, and manage with religion and justice the empire which they had gotten by force and robbery." But I have discoursed elsewhere

^a Florus, lib. 1. cap. 1. ^r Lib. 1. cap. 2 ^f Hist. Propagat. Christianity, chap. 2.

concerning the idolatry of the heathen world, and particularly of that of the Greeks and Romans, to which I shall not now add. Numa had only one daughter, named Pamphilia. After a reign of forty-three years, being above eighty years old, he died, and was buried with honour. He forbade his body to be burnt, as was usual in those days, and therefore was buried in a stone coffin; and there was laid by him, in another, the books of his ceremonies, being twelve writ in Latin, and as many in Greek. These were taken up about four hundred years after; and because it was thought a piece of impiety to communicate such mysteries to the multitude, they were burnt by order of the senate.

Tullus Hostilius was created king after Numa, by universal consent. He was of a bold fiery temper, and one who sought and greedily embraced all occasions of war. He gave some portion of land to the poorer sort, and inclosed within the walls of the city the hill Cælius, where he had his palace. His first war was with the city Alba, in which Cluilius was dictator, and after him Suffeltius. The armies being drawn out, it was agreed, "That for the safety of both nations, the quarrel should be decided by a combat of three persons on each side; and that the conquering party should obtain the pre-eminence and command over the other." After enquiry for combatants, they found, that one Sequinius of Alba had sometime ago two daughters, one married to Curiatius an Alban, and the other to Horatius a Roman; who being both with child at the same time, each daughter was delivered of three sons at a birth.

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To these two ternions of brothers was this great combat committed, as being of equal years, strength and courage, and all matters of private affection were dispensed with. In the fight the Curiatii or Albans were all three wounded, and two of the Horatii or Romans killed. The other surviving brother, pretending to retire, drew out his adversaries one after another, and slew them all; whereby Rome became conqueror. At his return to the city, his sister met him with reproachful words for embruing his hands in the blood of his cousins; for which he killed her, and was acquitted by the people: And the Roman king triumphed for his victory over the Albans. Soon after this, the Fidenates and Veientes broke out in war; and the Romans and Albans joined against them. But when day of battle came, Sufetius drew off all the Alban troops. Tullus Hostilius observing this conduct of his ally, that his men might not be discouraged, cried out that it was done by his order; and in a little time put his adversaries to the rout. But after the victory, he severely punished Sufetius for his treachery, by causing him to be torn in pieces by horses; and sent Horatius to Alba, who utterly demolished that city, transplanting the inhabitants to Rome, that a city so nearly allied to the Romans should not seem to have perished, but to return again to its own body. Tullus fought also prosperously with the Sabines, and died after a reign of thirty-two years.

Ancus Marcus was after him chosen king, in the year of Rome 115. He was grandson to Nu-

ma Pompilius; and being much of the same temper, he re-built the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, and fortified the hill Janiculum on the other side of the Tiber, uniting that river to the city by a wooden bridge. He also enlarged the Roman dominions, by adding to them a greater part of Etruria, gained from the Veientes, and a much better footing in Latium^a; and reigned twenty-four years.

After him Tarquinius Priscus was the first who obtained the kingdom by his own ambitious pretending to it, in the year of Rome 138. He made the number of the senate to consist of 300, and increased the Vestal virgins from four to seven. He took from the Latins, Collatia, five miles north-east of Rome, over which he placed his nephew Aruns, Tarquinius, governor. He also subdued the Sabines, and took from them a crown of gold, an ivory chair, a sceptre, with an eagle on the top, a purple coat, wrought with gold, and some other badges of royalty, which after this the Romans used; and he was the first who triumphed in a fine chariot drawn with horses. He also adorned the Forum at Rome with stately porticos, galleries and shops; made Cloacæ, or common sewers, to carry off the nastiness of the city, into the Tiber, and several other buildings. After a reign of thirty-eight years, he was killed by two sons of Ancus Marcius, who owed him a grudge because he was preferred to their father's throne before them.

Servius Tullius, son-in-law to Tarquinius, succeeded. He was born of one Ocrisia, who had been

^a Livius, lib. 1. cap. 32,—35.

been taken captive at Corniculum in Latium; and in remembrance of his mother's bondage, had the name of Servius. But he was royally educated by Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus; and her husband came to have so good an opinion of him, that he gave him his daughter in marriage, and committed to him the management of most of his affairs during his old age. He divided the public land among the poorer sort, distinguished the people into tribes or Curiae; And that the Census or public tax, might be the more easily gathered, according to the riches of each citizen, he ranked the people into six classes, that the affairs of the whole city might be governed as regularly as those of a private family*; and at the Lustrum, which was once in five years, the Census was made up according to the circumstances of the people. At the first Lustrum there were found above eighty thousand citizens at Rome; and that their number might be increased, orders were given for manumitting slaves, or making them freemen in the commonwealth. He also enclosed the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquillin hills†, within the precincts of the city. This king had two daughters, whom he married to Lucius and Aruns Tarquinius, grandsons to Tarquinius Priscus. The first being of a proud tyrannical nature, had a modest wife; but the last being of a mild temper, had a haughty wicked woman. Lucius envying Tullius for possessing his grandfather's throne, contrived with his brother's wife to dispatch their consorts; which they did: And those

* Florus, lib. 1. cap. 6.

† Livius, lib. 1. cap. 44.

those two wicked persons married together! This being done, they raised factions against the king, claiming the crown to themselves, as heirs to Tarquinius Priscus. And at last Lucius going to the senate-house, with some friends, took possession of the throne. Tullius going to turn him out, was thrown down stairs, and carried home in great disorder. Mean time Lucius's wife came, and saluted her husband king: and by her advice ruffians were sent who killed her father Tullius; and she most unhumanly caused her charioteer drive over his body weltering in its blood. Thus died Servius Tullius, after a reign of forty-four years.

Lucius Tarquinius after this murder, obtained the kingdom by mere force and violence, in the year of Rome 226; and by his tyrannical, imperious carriage, soon got the name of Superbus. He would not permit the late king's body to be publicly interred, alledging that Romulus died without burial, and murdered such as he suspected to be of Tullius's faction. Fearing the consequences of this tyranny, he kept a stronger guard than ordinary about his person, by whom he killed many of the first rank, seizing their wealth for his own use, and chose no more in their places, that their power might decrease, and in a little time be worn out. When he had wearied himself and others by these cruelties, he begun his wars, wherein he took Ocrinum, Gabii and Sueffa Pomertia from the Latins; which cities were all within thirty miles of Rome. Out of the plunder of those places, especially out of the last of them, he got riches, which enabled him to build a stately,

a stately temple. When the workmen were digging to lay the foundation of this fabric, a man's head was found very fresh and lively, which gave the name of the Capitol to the building. Florus² and Livy³ tell us, That this portended that there should be the seat of the empire of the world. The people being some years employed in this building, began to complain; and therefore, Tarquin, to satisfy them, and to recruit his own coffers, proclaimed a war against the Rutuli, pretending that they had entertained some Roman exiles. In the beginning of the war, he invested Ardea, the metropolis of his enemies, a city lying sixteen miles south-east of Rome. While the army lay before this place, Sextus the king's eldest son, with Tarquinius Collatinus, and some other courtiers, were drinking in the camp, and happened to discourse about their wives, each man praising his own. Collatinus told them their eyes might soon convince them how much his Lucretia excelled the rest. Upon this they took post-horses to Rome, and thence to Collatia, where they found Lucretia, not indulging idleness, like the rest of the wives, but hard at work; whereon they all admiring her goodness, modesty and beauty, gave her the preference. Upon this, Sextus resolved to enjoy her at any rate; and to obtain this end, within a few days came to Collatia, where being lodged at her house in the night time, he came to her bed with a drawn sword, threatening the poor lady with death if she offered to stir: But finding her inflexible either to threats or promises, he first cut off her left breast, and then her right, and then he cut off her head, and carried it to his father, who was then at Ardea. This was the first murder committed in Rome, and the first murder committed by a son against his father. This was the first murder committed in Rome, and the first murder committed by a son against his father.

² Lib. 1. cap. 7. ³ Lib. 1. cap. 55.

even of enjoying a share of a crown, he told her, "If she would not yield, he would kill her, and then lay his slave dead by her side, and report it was for surprizing her in adultery with him." By those means he obtained his end and departed. Lucretia being enraged with this injury, sent for her husband and her father, desiring them to bring some special friends along with them, for a signal mischief had befallen her. With her father came Publius Valerius, and with her husband L. Junius Brutus, before whom she told the whole matter, conjuring them to avenge her cause, and then stabbed herself with a knife to the heart, as a proof of her chastity. While they stood amazed, Brutus pulled out the bloody knife, and swore by all the Roman Gods to exterminate Tarquin, with his impious wife and progeny^b, and never to suffer any of them to reign at Rome, the rest doing the same. As for this Brutus, his father Marcus Junius, though one of the first Roman quality, had been murdered by this king Tarquin, and his estate seized. Lucius Junius counterfeiting himself a fool, whence he had the surname of Brutus, was taken into the king's family to make sport; and when the king sent his son Sextus and Titus to Delphos to consult the oracle in the time of a great pestilence, he went with them; and they laughed to see him present a wooden staff to Apollo; but they knew not that gold was within it. When they had done their business, they enquired at the oracle which of them should be prince at Rome? It was answered, *He who should first kiss his mother.*

When

^b Livius, lib. 1. cap. 58, — 59.

When they landed in Italy, Brutus, pretending to fall down by chance, kissed the earth, the mother of all men. Afterwards he kept his resentment; but soon threw off the mask; and, in an elaborate speech, declared the wickedness of the Tarquins, exposed Lucretia's body, and enflamed the people to assert their liberty. The multitude ran to arms; and in a public assembly held in the *Campus Martius*, Brutus and Collatinus were nominated to exercise the regal power. Tarquin being informed of what had happened, hastened to Rome, where the gates were shut against him. When he returned to the camp, the army refused to admit him; and so he was forced to retire to *Gabii*. This revolution happened after Tarquin had reigned twenty-five years, 244 years after the building of Rome, from the creation of the world 3441, before the birth of Christ 509 years. The Roman dominions were then about forty miles long, and thirty broad; a spot of ground not much larger, than is now the commonwealth of *Lucca*.

§ 4. Here begins the Consular State; but the names of those magistrates, and the limits of their power, were not so soon fixed. Tarquin after his expulsion, sent ambassadors to the city, promising a more regular administration if they would receive him as their king, but the people rejected his offers: Only some young men being educated at court, in licence and pleasure, entertained designs to re-establish the regal state. Among them were Titus and Tiberius, two sons of Brutus, three of the *Vitellii*, nephews to Collatinus the consul, and two of the *Aquilii*. One *Vindicius* a slave, having

having concealed himself in the room where the plot was formed, revealed the whole to Valerius Poplicola*, who secured the slave, and then with his friends and clients seized the conspirators with their letters, and brought them into the Forum. The consuls having taken their seats, Vindicius was sent for, who narrated the whole story, and the letters being publicly read, made the conspiracy evident. The accused persons being astonished, could plead nothing, only the tears and pity of Collatinus gave them some hopes of mercy. At last Brutus, with a stern countenance, said to his sons thrice, "can you make no defence against those crimes laid to your charge?" And upon their silence, he said to the lictors and executioners, "now is your part to perform the rest." And with an unshaken firmness, beheld his sons scourged and beheaded, and then left the assembly. The people being offended with Collatinus's backwardness to punish the other prisoners, he thought fit to resign his place, and Valerius Poplicola was chosen consul in his room; who gave Vindicius the privilege of a Roman freed man, (hence a full manumission was afterwards called *Vindicta*) and the rest of the conspirators were beheaded. Tarquin's goods were divided among the people, his palace demolished, and the Campus Martius, which he had enclosed for himself, laid open for the benefit of the city. Tarquin now finding that all his prayers and politic views for restoration were ineffectual, drew together an army of Tuscans, with which he advanced.

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* Plutarch in Poplicola. Livius lib. 2.

vanced to Rome, and the consuls led out their forces to oppose him. Aruns, the son of Tarquin, and Brutus, the consul, singled out each other, and fighting with more zeal than good conduct, were both slain. A very bloody battle followed, which a tempest parted, so as neither party had reason to boast of the victory: But in the night time an extraordinary fright is said to have seized the Tuscan army, so as they abandoned their camp, and and five thousand of them were taken prisoners by the Romans with the spoil. Next day, the bodies of the dead being numbered, there were found 11300 Tuscans, and of the Romans as many save one^d. Valerius Poplicola, the remaining consul, had a more noble triumph than any before him. Having restored the peace, he made a funeral oration for his colleague, and his example was followed by posterity. Poplicola delaying the election of another consul till affairs were settled, and mean time dwelling in a stately house on mount Velia, the people feared he would prove another Tarquin. But he soon shewed them the contrary, by pulling down his house, and bowing so courteously to the people in public, that he was called, *The people pleaser*: And to ingratiate himself further with them, he made several laws for retrenching the consular power; by allowing appeals from the consul to the people; by making it death for any man to take on the office of a magistrate without the people's consent; and to relieve poor citizens from payment of tribute. He also made laws for punishing disobedience to the consuls,

^d Plutarch in Poplicola.

consuls, and for creating two quæstors, or public treasurers, to take care of public monies and contributions, and appointed the temple of Saturn for the *Ærarium* or treasury. Then he held an assembly for electing another consul, where *Lucretius*, the father of *Lucretia*, was chosen, and the precedence yielded to him. But he dying a few days after his creation, *Marcus Horatius* was chosen in his room, in whose time the Capitol was finished and dedicated. In *Poplicola's* second consulship, which was in the year of Rome 246, *Tarquin* made a new effort to recover his kingdom: For gaining *Porfenna*, king of *Clusium*, one of the *Etrurian* princes, to espouse his quarrel, he came with an army, seized the *Janiculum*, and laid siege to Rome. In an attack, *Poplicola* was wounded and carried off; upon which the Romans flying, were pursued to the bridge, and the enemy might have entered the town, had not *Horatius Cocles*, and a few men with him, valiantly defended the passage, till the Romans broke the bridge: Then *Cocles* threw himself in his armour into the river, and swam over unto his friends, though he received a wound in the hips, while on his way. *Poplicola* rewarded him, by bestowing upon him a piece of land, and by erecting to his memory a statue of brass in the temple of *Vulcan*. Mean time *Porfenna*, by carrying on the siege, reduced the city to great straits by famine. But *Poplicola* in his third consulship stole out of the city, and overthrew, and killed five thousand of the *Tuscans*. However the siege continued,

* *Plutarchus in Poplicola.*

till Mutius a Roman, but wearing the Tuscan habit, and speaking their language, broke in upon their camp, designing to have killed Porfenna, but instead of him slew one of his courtiers; whereupon being apprehended, he thrust his right hand into the fire, to punish it for so gross a mistake. The king observing his resolution, reached him back his sword, and dismissed him with applause. Mutius taking it with his left hand, whence he had the name of Scævola, told the king "That three hundred Romans in the camp now waited to take away his life, but that he was satisfied he had missed killing a person, whose magnanimity entitled him to the friendship of the Roman nation." Whereon Porfenna admiring the Roman courage, abandoned the interest of Tarquin, and came to an accommodation with the Romans upon terms, that they should quit the Tuscan lands which they had formerly taken, and that prisoners and deserters should be returned on both sides.

A year or two after this*, the Sabines being very troublesome by their incursions into the Roman territories, M. Valerius, the brother of Poplicola, and Posthumius Tubertus being consuls, they were twice overthrown, and many of them killed, with little loss to the Romans. The year following, Poplicola being consul a fourth time, the whole nation of the Sabines joined with the Latins against Rome. But Appius Claudes, an eminent man among them, being much against the war, retarded the preparations, and afterwards came over to the Romans with five thousand of his friends', who had large privileges and possessions

* Ann. U. C. 249. † Plutarchus in Poplicola.

sions allowed them in the city, especially Clauses himself, who was made a senator, and the Claudi, afterwards called Claudii, became as great a family as any at Rome. The rest of the Sabines were soon defeated. In a little after this Poplicola died, and was buried with honour on the public charge.

Tarquin being still restless and unsatisfied, by the assistance of Mamilius Octavius his son-in-law, stirred up the whole body of the Latins to make war against Rome, and also procured Fidenæ to revolt. He endeavoured to foment jealousies between the richer and poorer sort of the Romans; the latter complaining of usury, and that the creditors used their debtors worse than slaves, Sulpicius one of the consuls punished the mutineers, and the city Fidenæ yielded to Largius Flavius. The rest of the Latins enraged at the loss of this town, began to complain of their principal men; which opportunity Tarquin and Mamilius so far improved, as to obtain all the Latin cities being twenty-four in number, to declare war against the Romans, engaging them by dreadful oaths, that none of them should forsake their associates, nor make any separate peace. This confederacy obliged the Romans to prepare for war*; but when they began to levy men, the poorer sort refused to list, except their debts were remitted by a decree of the senate†. The patricians endeavoured to pacify the multitude by gentle words, but all in vain: At length it was resolved, that all suits and processes concerning debts, should cease till this war was finished. The senate also found

* Ann. U. C. 255. † Livius, lib. 2.

it necessary, upon the account of the wars abroad, and troubles at home, to create a particular magistrate, from whom there should lie no appeal, and who, for a limited time, should be sole governor, by the name of *Dictator*. *Largius Flavius*^b was the first created by the senate into this office. This was the first intermission of the consular power; which long afterwards, in the time of *Cæsar*, proved the ruin of the commonwealth, and the means of introducing monarchy. The Dictator appointed *Sp. Cassius* his master of horse, and began a census; where fear of losing their freedom and estate so far prevailed, that abundance of people lifted themselves, and he got the Latins to make a truce for one year. This being done, he laid down his dictatorship, no man having suffered death or banishment in his time: Nor was this extraordinary office much abused to the prejudice of the republic till the days of *Sylla*.

The truce being at an end, both parties prepared to take the field. The Latins being very strong, the senate nominated *Virginius Posthumius* Dictator, who chose *Ebutius Elva* for his master of horse, and encamped at the lake *Regillus*, fourteen miles east of Rome; where a bloody battle was fought. *Florus*^c says, "That *Posthumius* threw one of the ensigns among the enemy, that his men might be the more eager to fall upon them and recover it, and that *Cossus* ordered the bridles to be taken off the horses, that they might charge with the greater violence and fury."

At

^b *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, lib. 5. cap. 82, & seq. ^c *Lib. 1. cap. 11.*

At last the victory fell to the side of the Romans, who fought with so much bravery, that Florus^{*} says, "No body doubts but Castor and Pollux were present on milk-white steeds, and the dictator vowed to build them temples." The Latins lost Mamilius and Sextus Tarquinius, and were so broken, that scarce a fourth part of them escaped, and therefore they begged peace; which was granted. Thus ended the wars upon account of the Tarquins, after they had continued for thirteen years: And the old proud Tarquin being the only person left of all his family, retired to Cumæ, where he soon died, being about ninety years of age, and the last king, bearing that title, that ever Rome saw.

Upon finishing this war, Posthumius laid down his dictatorship, and Appius Claudius, the Sabine, with Servilius Priscus were made consuls for the following year, being the 258 of Rome. The severity of the creditors made new complaints among the people; which occasioned M. Valerius, a popular man, to be next year chosen dictator; who pleasing the people with fair promises, listed ten legions, and with those[†] marched against the Volsci, Æqui and Sabines, then all up in arms, and having reduced them, he divided most of the lands of the Volsci among his soldiers, but was not able to satisfy their demands concerning their debts. And therefore, when he had laid down his office, and peace was restored, debates and humours between the patricians and plebeians came to a great height, so as the people retired and encamped.

^{*} Lib. 1. cap. 12 & Dion. Halicarnassicus, lib. 6. cap. 17.

[†] Livius, lib. 2. cap. 30.

camped in Mons Sacer, and would join in no war till their grievances were redressed^m. There were different opinions in the senate about the proper method to satisfy those complaints. Appius Claudius, a venerable senator, pleaded, that, by complying with the multitude, they had impaired the dignity of their own order, and that nothing ought to be granted to the rabble. Menenius Agrippa, on the other side, urged the great necessity of compliance with the people, since the Roman dominions could neither be preserved nor increased without the assistance of the inferior sort, and in this he was seconded by Posthumius, the last dictator, and several others. At last it was agreed, that the people should chuse Tribunes to preserve their privileges and secure their liberties. The authority of those tribunes was so great, that they could assemble the people, propose what they pleased, hinder the deliberations of the senate, annul its decrees, summon other magistrates before the people; yea, sometimes they imprisoned the consuls. They were to keep their doors open night and day, to hear complaints and relieve the oppressed; and had no power to be absent from the city. They were at first only five in numberⁿ; but thirty-seven years after this, five more were added, and this number long continued. They were at first chosen from among the common people; but afterwards the senators and patricians looked on this charge as honourable, and the emperors themselves, after Augustus, did not disdain the title of *Tribunus Plebis*. This remarkable change happened

^m Dion Halicarnassensis, lib. 6. cap. 37.—87.

ⁿ Livius, lib. 2. cap. 33.

happened in the year of Rome 260, from the creation of the world 3457, before the birth of Christ 493 years.

The commons having obtained from the senate a confirmation of the tribuneship, they got another privilege superadded, even to chuse yearly two out of their body to assist these officers. They were called *Ædiles*, *ab ædibus curandis*, because one part of their business was to take care of the public buildings: And besides, they were, by permission of the tribunes, to punish excessive usurers, to restrain tippling and gaming houses, to correct false weights and measures, and to provide bread, corn and oil in time of famine. The commons having obtained those grants, readily lifted (which before they had refused) against the Volsci, under Posthumius Cominius the consul, who took Longula, and Polustia, and then invested Corioli their metropolis. When the Romans attempted to storm this town, the besieged received them with so much courage as to drive them back to their trenches: But Caius Marcius, a patrician, stood the shock, and forced the besieged back to the town, following them so close at the heels, that he entered the gates with them, overthrew the enemy, and took the city. Whereupon the consul gave Marcius great praise, and offered him the tenth part of the spoil, before the division of the rest among the soldiers: But he generously refused all, except one single horse, and the relief of one single person he had a favour for among the prisoners. Which being granted, he was honoured with the surname of Coriolanus°, and a peace.

° Plutarch. in *Coriolano*. Dionysius Halicarnassus, lib. 6. cap. 85.

peace was granted to the Volsci upon their submission.

Next year * there was a famine in the city, occasioned by the want of tillage in the time of the late confusions between the patricians and plebeians; which obliged the senate to send to Sicily, and several parts of Italy, for corn, a great quantity whereof was bought at an easy rate, or half given by Gelon, king of Sicily. When the senate came to consult how to dispose of it, Coriolanus advised "to keep it up at a high rate, and to shew no favour to the insolence of the tribunes, and of the rabble, but to take away the tribuneship, as the only way to remedy the disorders of the state." Upon which he was indicted before the tribunes, and Sicinius, one of that number, pronounced against him the sentence of death, ordering their ædiles to seize him, and cast him headlong over the Tarpeian rock. But a tumult arising, he was rescued by the patricians out of their hands; and the tribunes themselves granted the third Nundinæ, or ninth day thereafter, for his trial. When the appointed day came, Coriolanus was accused for aspiring to be king, and using tyrannical power over Rome; but when they found this charge could not be proved, they accused him of hindering the corn to be distributed among the people at a mean price; and that he had not made a distribution, conformable to law, of the spoils taken in the territory of the Antiates. For these things the majority of the tribes gave their sentence that he should be banished the city for ever.

Accordingly,

Ann. U. C. 261.

P. Plutarchus in Coriolano.

Accordingly, having taken farewell of his weeping family, he left the city, accompanied only by some few friends, retired to Antium, in the territory of the Volsci, and sat down in the house of Tullus Attius, the principal man in the city, a great enemy to the Romans, to whom he represented his case; and he cheerfully engaged in his quarrel. Coriolanus having got an army together, plundered the Roman territories, taking Tolerium, Lavici, Pes, and Bola: And understanding the great dissensions that were at Rome, he marched all the way to Clauilius's ditch, within five miles of the city; which put all the citizens in a fear, especially when he refused, at the desire of their ambassadors, with their priests and soothsayers, so much as to treat of a peace. At last his mother Veturia, with his wife Volumnia, and some other ladies, made their addresses to him in favours of his country; and after a moving speech of his mother, which is pathetically represented by Plutarch⁹, he told her, "O mother, you have gained the victory, most fortunate to my country; but mortal and unhappy for your son." And upon this withdrew his army from the Roman territories. Tullus Attius represented this as the highest treachery to the Volsci, and got poor Coriolanus to be cut in pieces by them, without allowing him to speak a word for himself, in the year of Rome 265. The Roman senate decreed the temple of Fortune to be built for the women, and allowed them to mourn ten months for the death of Coriolanus.

Soon

⁹ In Coriolano. Dionys. Halicarnassens, lib 8. cap. 1.—71.

Soon after this Virginius and Cassius overthrew the Volsci, and killed Tullus their general: Yet equal privileges were granted to them with the Latins, by the means of Sp. Cassius; which together with his triumph lately obtained, without performing any thing that deserved it, procured him much envy, especially when he became proud by his three consulships, and two triumphs, and seemed to affect a continuation of this power to himself as sole governor. Nor did his granting the people the Agrarian law, by which the conquered land was divided among the commons, excluding new allies and associates, who could not expect to share of what was gained before their time, mend the matter: But at last Cassius was accused of affecting tyranny, condemned and executed for it*.

In this summary account of the Roman affairs, I do not pretend to take notice of the transactions of every year, but of the more remarkable; and therefore may here observe, that when Cæso Fabius, and Titus Virginius were consuls in the year of Rome 275, the Veientes engaged in war with the Romans, and were opposed by the family of the Fabii. The Veientes not daring to attack them in their fortrefs, drew them out by a stratagem, and they fell in an ambuscade; where that whole family, consisting of three hundred and six men, saith Livy†, and Aurelius Victor‡, or of three hundred, according to Eutropius§, were all cut off, fighting valiantly, and killing many of their enemies: Only one boy, not fit for

* Dionys Halicarnas. lib. 8. cap. 79.—91. Florus, lib. 1. cap. 26.

† Lib. 2. cap. 50. ‡ De viris illustribus. § Lib. 1. p. m. 10.

for the war, remained; of whom afterwards sprung Fabius Maximus. But the Veientes were soon so overpowered, as they were forced to beg peace of the Romans; which was granted them for forty years*. A Census being kept at Rome, a hundred and nineteen thousand citizens were entered in the tax-roll†. The Romans still continued to have war with the Æqui, Sabines and Volsci, wherein they generally had the advantage. From the Volsci they took Antium, a considerable city on the sea coast, twenty-eight miles south-east of Rome; which was made a Roman colony. Nor had any of those people any considerable advantage over the Romans for nine years together, though in the midst of these wars there happened a most grievous plague in the city, which swept away a great multitude both of nobility and commons‡. The Æqui and the Volsci were much weakened, their territories wasted; and Lucretius and Veturius the consuls obtained, the one a triumph, and the other an ovation, which was an inferior sort of triumph over them.

Amidst these successes Rome had against her neighbours, her affairs were frequently in danger of ruin at home, by seditious debates and contentions between the Patricians and Plebeians. Sometimes these happened about the Agrarian laws, or division of lands among the common people. At other occasions, the tribunes of the people, (who were now ten in number) would have the power of the consuls limited, alledging they had the whole regal power, though without the name.

The

* Livius, lib. 4. cap. 54. † Eutropius, lib. 1. p. m. 10. ‡ Dionys. Halicarnas. lib. 9. cap. 49. & 84. * Ann. U. C. 391.

The Romans, from the building of their city to this time, seem to have had no fixed law, nor constant form of administering justice. It was then proposed by C. Terentius, or Terentillus, a tribune of the people*, that ambassadors might be sent into Greece, to bring thence a body of laws, for regulating their procedure in all time coming. Accordingly three envoys were sent by sea on the public charge; who, after three years stay, returned, and brought a system of laws, called the law first of the ten, and afterwards of the twelve tables, concerning sacred, public and private rights; which is now for most part lost, except some fragments excerpted out of various authors*. When the ambassadors returned, the tribunes required that magistrates might be nominated to execute those laws. And after a grave debate in the senate, it was agreed, that ten men of the chief senators should be elected, whose power continuing only for a year, should be the same with that of kings or consuls, without any appeal: And that other magistrates should lay down their authority, till their commission should be renewed according to the laws. This being done in the senate, and confirmed by the people, the consuls elect, resigned their office, and were made part of the decemvirate. As also the tribunes, aediles, quaestors, &c. were divested of all power and authority*. This remarkable change of government, and second sort of intermission of the consular power happened 303 years after the building

Ann. U. C. 300. Vide Rosini Antiq. Roman. lib. 8. p. m. 404, —
437. Roman History by Carrou & Rouille, vol. 2. Dionys. Halicarn.
lib. 10. cap. 64, — 69. Livius, lib. 3. 48 28 Pa 700 4 01 16.55. Hall

of Rome, 3499 years from the creation of the world, and 451 years before our Saviour's birth.

§ 5. The Decemvirs began their government with moderation: The sinking of the office of tribunes of the people was acceptable to the senate, and the equity of the new laws was pleasing to the people; and hence they had the interest to have their power continued for about three years. But when they began to act in an arbitrary way, and tyrannize over the people, the scene changed; particularly when Appius Claudius, the first and chief of the decemvirate, formed a design to make their power during life; when, contrary to the advice of C. Claudius his uncle, he tyrannized over the senators, and commanded the clerk to draw a decree, whereby the sole power of levying forces and commanding them was given to the Decemvirs; when he and his colleagues were forced by the Æqui to flee shamefully and abandon their camp; when he caused murder Siccus Dentatus; and, finally, when he seized Virginia, the beautiful daughter of Virginius, a Plebian, for his own lust; whom her father killed in the market-place with a butcher's knife, and cried out, "Appius, thou tyrant, with this knife I doom thee to death," and with the same bloody knife in his hand ran through the city, calling to the people to regain their liberty, and the same way ran to the camp, persuading the army to revolt from the Ten, and redeem their sinking country: Then the power of the decemvirate came to an end: Appius, the chief of them, was committed to prison; and his property was confiscated. *Dionys. Halicarnas. lib. 12 cap. 1, — 50. Livius, lib. 3.*

prison; but before his trial, was found dead. Oppius, the next to him, was accused and condemned; but died the same day in prison, by his own hands. The other eight went willingly into banishment. This was done in the end of the third year after the Decemvirs were nominate, being the year of Rome 306.

§ 6. The power of the Decemvirs being abrogate, the government of the city returned to its former channel. Valerius and Horatius were chosen consuls, and Virginus, who had so active a hand in this revolution, was chosen one of the tribunes of the people. The consuls took the field against the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, so successfully as to deserve a triumph; which though the senate refused, yet by the assistance of the tribunes, they procured a law to pass by the votes of the people, granting them the honour they demanded. Thus the plebeian power did daily increase. In the year of Rome 309, the same enemies of the state made incursions and ravages, even to the walls of the city, till Quintius and Furius the consuls gave them a signal overthrow.

The tribunes of the people became still more insolent, and nothing would satisfy the commons but to have a share in the highest offices and places of trust; for which end they proposed two laws, one, "to permit the marriage of the Plebeians with the Patricians," and the other, "to make Plebeians capable of the consulship." The senators took those demands in ill part; but, to prevent commotions in the state, they passed the law about marriages. This pacified the commons only for a short space; for when the *Æqui* and Sa-

bines

bines made ravages in the Roman territories, they refused to lift themselves in the war; till they were made partakers of the consulship. After some conferences among the senators, Claudius proposed this expedient, "by no means to suffer the consulship to come into the hands of the Plebeians, but to create certain governors in the room of the consuls, six or eight in number, whereof one half at least should be Patricians; for by this means they should seem not to take too much power to themselves, and yet retain their prerogative." And he added, "That when the senate should assemble, he would speak against the demand of the Plebeians as unreasonable, with some elder senators; but that Genutius, the consul's brother, with some younger members of the senate, should offer this mean of reconciliation; and the rest should go into it." When the meeting of the senate came, this method being taken, the Plebeians were pleased with the offer; and though some of their number stood for the office, they bestowed it upon three eminent Patricians, being satisfied with the bare novelty of the thing. This was the third intermission of the consular power, tho' the authority was equivalent, which happened in the 310th year of Rome, 443 before our Saviour's birth. And here ends the eleventh book of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, which is the last of his Roman history or antiquities that is transmitted to us, the rest being lost.

§ 7. These new magistrates were called military tribunes; but within three months after their election,

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lection,

^d Dionys. Halicarnass. lib. xi. cap. 57. & seq. Livius, lib. 4. cap. 1.—7.

lection, the augurs found some flaw in it^c, and the government returned to its former channel. Next year the consuls, to ease themselves of a part of the public business, got two new magistrates created, called censors^d, being so named because the overseeing of the census was a principal part of their office, whereby an estimate was made of the Romans estates, distributing them into classes and centuries, and taking their numbers. They were chosen once in five years, when the Lustrum was to be performed, and continued only a year and a half. In process of time they became persons of great dignity and power, being inspectors of mens lives and manners, taking upon them to degrade senators, to take away the horse and the ring from the Equites, or gentlemen, and to turn plebeians from a higher to a lower tribe, and to do other things of the like nature; and were for a long time chosen out of the Patricians. About the same time, Geganius, the consul, relieved Ardea, and triumphed over the Volsci, leading Cluilius their general a captive before his triumphal chariot^e. About three years after this, in the time of a great famine, Sp. Mælius a Roman knight, who was very rich, distributed a considerable quantity of corn to the poor at his own charge, whereby he affected to be popular, and to raise himself to the sovereignty. Quintius Cincinnatus, an aged man, being then chosen dictator, and Servilius Ahala his master of the horse, the dictator summoned Mælius to appear^f; who being back-

^c Livius, lib. 4. cap. 1.—7. ^f Ibid. cap. 8. Gellius, lib. 4. cap. 12.
^d Livius, lib. 4. cap. 10. ^h Ibid. cap. 13, 14. Augustin de civitate Dei, lib. 3. cap. 17.

ed by the mob, refused to obey. Whereupon Ahala set upon him in the Forum, and killed him; and was justified by Quintius, who ordered his goods to be sold, and his house to be demolished. The tribunes of the people being enraged at the death of their friend Mælius, caused military tribunes to be created for the following year*; and three patricians were elected, to the disappointment of the plebeians: But consuls were chosen next year.

For some time the Romans had wars with the Fidenates and Veientes, the Volsci and Æqui, their neighbours; who being subdued, a more dangerous enemy did arise, I mean the Gauls; who finding their own country too narrow for them, and desiring to remove into new habitations under the conduct of Brennus their king, broke into Etruria, and invested Clusium, a city in alliance with Rome. These were the Galli Senones, a numerous and warlike people, inhabiting that part of Italy which is now called Lombardy, a people vast in body, rude and barbarous in their manners, who wandered as rovers over many countries. The inhabitants of Clusium, affrighted at their numbers and dreadful looks, sent to Rome†, begging the republic to interpose by ambassadors to dissuade those unjust aggressors from their enterprise. Accordingly the senate dispatched three of the Fabii, whom the Gauls received courteously, and in a conference, the ambassadors demanded the reasons of their present undertaking, since the Clusians had done them no injury. To which

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Brennus

* Ann. U. C. 415.
Livius, lib. 5. cap. 33.

† Ann. U. C. 362.

‡ Florus lib. 1. cap. 13.

Brennus answered, "That the Clusians had refused to part with some of their lands to him, when they had more than they could easily manage; and this was the same kind of quarrel that the Romans had with the Albans, Veientes and others, with whom they had constant wars." These answers so enraged the ambassadors, that they straight stirred up the besieged in Clusium to make a sally against the besiegers^k; they themselves heading them. Fabius Ambustus, one of these envoys, in the fight killed a Gaul of huge bulk, and was discovered while disarming him. This provoked Brennus, to see ambassadors acting so contrary to the duties of their office, and made him break up the siege and march directly to Rome. But, that he might not seem to do any thing unjustly, he demanded the men to be delivered up who had broke the law of nations; which the senate and people not only refused, but also created the same persons, in conjunction with three others, military tribunes for carrying on the war. Brennus, on hearing this, hastened his march; but spared the affrighted country on the road. The Romans met him at the river Allia, eleven miles from the city, with an army of forty thousand foot; but for most part they were raw unskilful soldiers, and, which was worse, under the conduct of several tribunes equal in command. Hence they were soon defeated: Their left wing being driven into the river Allia, and there drowned or cut in pieces, their right fled; and the day was ever after marked as unlucky in the Roman calendar.

^k Plutarch in Camillo. Livius, lib 5 cap. 36.

calendar. Rome was in great consternation at the news of their loss, and the sudden approach of the enemy, nothing being heard but howlings; so that the city was left abandoned and open: Only a part of the citizens retired to the capitol, and resolved there to endure a siege. Some of the priests and ancient senators, who had been honoured with consulships and triumphs, could not quit the city; but placed themselves in the forum in their robes and ivory chairs, resolving, since they had lived in honour, to die in state. Brennus, the third day after the victory, entered the defenceless city, and marched on to the forum; where he wondered to see so many grave men sitting like statues, and thought them to be an assembly of gods. At last a soldier stroaked Papius's beard; but the old man not bearing this, gave the fellow a blow with his ivory staff, till the blood came: Whereupon the soldier killed the senator with a sword, and the rest of the Gauls did the like to all the Romans, without mercy or distinction, that came in their way¹; and for many days plundered the city, and then burnt it down to the ground. Thus all Rome was burnt, except the capitol, 364 years after it was built, from the creation of the world 3561 years, before the birth of Christ 389.

Mean time the capitol was closely besieged by the Gauls, and the country round about ravaged and destroyed by their army^m. At this time M. Furius Camillus was at Ardea. Upon mentioning this noble Roman, who acted a very generous part, in

¹ Livius, lib. 5. cap. 46. ^m Ibid. cap. 42, 43.

in delivering his country, it is not out of my way to give a short account of his life: And therefore we may observe, that he raised himself by his merit and great skill in military affairs. For at the siege of Veii, which lasted ten years, he was twice a military tribune. He being chosen dictator, and finding that the city was not to be taken by storm, he carried on a mine, which being finished, he made a general assault, which obliged the besieged to stand to the defence of their walls; and in the mean time the Roman soldiers broke open the mine, leaped into the city, and opened the gates to the dictator; where he entering, took great spoils, and particularly Juno's image, which he carried to Rome^a; and obtained a more noble triumph than any of his predecessors. When the tribunes of the people proposed a law, to divide the senate and people into two parts, whereof one should stay at Rome, and the other remove to Veii, Camillus opposed the motion, and got it put off, as what might tend to the ruin of their ancient city. In the year of Rome 360, he was made a third time military tribune against the Falisci; whom he shut up and besieged in their city Falerii, which was strong, and well provided for defence, and therefore not easy to be taken. During the siege, the schoolmaster of the town several times led out his boys to game, and at last, thinking to merit a great reward from the Roman general, delivered his whole scholars to the besiegers, as a pledge whereby they might gain the city. But Camillus, abhorring this base treachery, ordered

^a Plutarch. in Camillo.

ordered the schoolmaster to be tied, and whipped by his scholars into the town; and the besieged were so taken with this noble generosity, that they yielded to Camillus; who took them and the Falisci into friendship with the Romans, only fining them in a sum of money. Notwithstanding these good services, Camillus was indicted by the tribunes of the people, for fraudulent practices with respect to the plunder obtained in the wars, and for not giving the tenth of the spoil to Apollo, conformable to his vow, and fined in fifteen thousand asses, which amounts to about fifty pounds Sterling. Camillus taking this in ill part, especially because he found the multitude exasperated against him, retired to Ardea, praying, "That if he was innocent, his country might find the loss of him." In this retirement, he was moved with compassion, when he heard of the sackage and burning of Rome by the Gauls; and finding these enemies went about in parties plundering the country, and frequently lay at night drunk in the fields, he persuaded the men of Ardea who were able to bear arms to join him, and fall upon them; which they so effectually did, as to cut off a great party, scarce leaving a man to carry news to Rome of the defeat. The fame of this victory revived a little the fainting spirits of the Romans, and those of them who fled to Veii after the late overthrow at Allia, sent to Camillus to be their general. But he refused to act unless he obtained a commission from those shut up in the capitol, whom he considered as the surviving Roman state. Now, it was very difficult to have any correspondence with the besieged in the capitol: However,

However, Pontius Cominus undertook this service, and putting on a poor garment, with a bundle of corks under it, he swam the river Tiber upon the corks, and scrambled up the rock, where he soon got his instructions from the besieged; and returning the same way, delivered to Camillus an order of the senate constituting him dictator, who chose Valerius Potitius his master of horse; and getting together a considerable army, resolved to march against the enemy.

In the mean time the Gauls discovered that some body had scrambled up to the capitol, and told the same to Brennus; who ordered a party in the night time to climb up the same way, and surprise the place. The attempt was made with great secrecy, not so much as a dog barking; only some geese, said to be sacred to Juno, by gagging and clapping their wings, discovered it. Whereupon the Romans snatched up their weapons; and particularly Manlius, a noble patrician, throwing down two of the foremost of the Gauls, and others doing the like, these by their fall overthrew others who were behind them; so as the whole design was disappointed. After this the affairs of the Gauls were in a worse condition by want of provisions, and the plague raging among them; which made them offer to capitulate upon the following terms, "That upon the Romans paying a thousand pound weight of gold, they should leave the city." The gold being brought forth, the Gauls pulled back the balance as they thought fit; which the Romans complaining of, Brennus cast in his sword and belt into the scales, crying, *Vae Victis*, "Wo to the vanquished," which became

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came a proverb. While they were thus disputing, Camillus arrived with his army, and told the Gauls, "That it was the custom of the Romans to deliver their country with iron, not with gold; and that he disannulled the compact, as being made without his consent, who being dictator, had the sole power of making peace." Whereupon they went to blows; and next day in a bloody battle the Gauls were entirely overthrown, their camp taken, and such execution done in the pursuit, that the Roman territories were in a short time cleared of them. Thus Rome was as remarkably recovered as it had been before lost, after it had continued seven months in the enemy's hands; for they entered Rome on the fifteenth of July, and were driven out on the thirteenth of February following*. For which victory Camillus triumphed, the people all rejoicing, and calling him their saviour and second founder.

This war being finished, the tribunes of the people once more began to urge for removing to Veii, which made the senate to order Camillus to hold his dictatorship for a whole year*, which was six months longer than the usual term. He declared to the people how dishonourable it was, to forsake the seat of their ancestors, to inhabit a conquered city, and ordered Rome to be rebuilt; which was done with greater diligence and haste, than good order. Next year* military tribunes were chosen, who being blocked up by the Æqui, Volsci, and Hetrurians, Camillus was made dictator a third time, who chose Servilius Ahala for his master.

* Plutarch. in Camillo. P Livius, lib. 6. cap. 1. * Ann. U. C. 345.

master of horse; and they forced their enemies to submit, after several of their cities had been taken: For which Camillus triumphed a third time. Three years after this, he being then a military tribune, overcame the same people again, together with the Hetrurians and Latins. In the year of Rome 369, four tribes were added, which made the whole number twenty-five. Manlius, for his good service in preserving the capitol, had got the surname of *Capitolinus*. But being proud, ambitious, and seeming to aim at the sovereignty, by pleasing the people; Cossus, then dictator, accused him; and he being found guilty, was thrown over the Tarpeian rock. So jealous was Rome then of her liberty.

In the year of Rome 372, Camillus was chosen a military tribune the sixth time, against his own inclination; but it was found necessary to conduct the army against the Prænestines and Volsi; and he marched to oppose them: But at the time of the action, being confined with sickness, his colleague Lucius Furius, too eager for the glory of a victory, engaged without him, and was defeated. This made Camillus venture abroad on horseback; his soldiers seeing him, rallied, and stopped the enemy, and next day attacked and overcame them. In his return he destroyed some Tuscans, who had killed the inhabitants of the city Sutrium, and came to Rome loaded with spoils. Next year, Quintius Cincinnatus being dictator, took Præneste, and eight towns that were its dependents, by surrender. In the year of Rome 375, there were such combustions in the city about making one of the consuls out of the plebeians, that

that for five years thereafter there was no supreme magistrate chosen, but only tribunes of the people, and ædiles. When Manlius was dictator*, he chose Licinius Stolo master of the horse, being the first plebeian that ever obtained this honour. Stolo, to gratify those of his own rank, preferred a law, "That no citizen of Rome should possess above five hundred jugera†," that is, about three hundred and thirty of our acres. This being disadvantageous to the patricians, was in the event found also so to himself; for possessing more than the law allowed, he was the first who was punished by virtue of his own constitution. While parties were thus contending, news were brought that an army of Gauls was marching from the Adriatic sea towards Rome. This made them lay aside their private differences, and think of the common safety: For they feared the Gauls so much, that a law was made, that the priests should be excused from wars, except in case of an invasion from the Gauls. And all parties agreed to make Camillus dictator a fifth time; who, though now he was eighty years of age, declined not the charge in this dangerous juncture, but presently chose Quintius Cincinnatus for his master of horse; and, considering that the force of the Gauls lay chiefly in their swords, he caused his men to be furnished with light iron helmets, binding their wooden targets about with brass; and teaching them so to handle their swords, as to blunt those of their enemies. By such means, and by a steady, regular conduct, he overthrew the

* Ann. U. C. 385. † Plutarchus in Camillo.

the Gauls at the river Anio; and, in his return, had the city Velitrae surrendered to him. While the Romans were thus victorious, the commons renewed their domestic contests, insisting to have one of the consuls chosen out of their own body; and the contention was so hot, that the tribunes of the people charged Camillus, the dictator, to rise from the chair, and answer before their tribunal. Whereupon a tumult arose; and the meeting was adjourned to the senate-house, where a law was agreed to, that one of the consuls for the future might be chosen out of the plebeians. From this time the military tribunes were for ever laid aside, which was seventy-one years after their first creation. The people and the senate being reconciled, a temple was built, and dedicated to Concordia. Camillus died of the plague. Plutarch remarks concerning him, That he was never once consul, though his great actions raised him to be five times dictator, won him four triumphs, and gained him the name of a second founder of Rome. The patricians desiring that a praetor should be chosen out of their body, for administering justice; this was immediately granted. Also two patricians were made aediles, who from the ivory chair wherein they sat, when giving justice, were called *Aediles Curules*. In the year of Rome 393, the ground cleaving asunder in the forum to a vast depth, M. Curtius, a brave young soldier, to deliver his country (as he imagined) rode

* For these tribunes were first created in the year of Rome 317, and for ever laid aside in the year 388. † Plutarch's Life of Camillus, at the end, and at the beginning. ‡ Livius, lib. 7. cap. 4.

rode into the gulph in his armour, and was there swallowed up^a. The enemy of mankind did frequently cheat the blinded heathens to perform such inhuman sacrifices, which we are now delivered from by the light of the gospel. The Her-nici being up in arms, Genucius, the plebeian consul, marched against them, but himself was slain, and his army put to the rout. This threatening danger made the senate create Claudius Cassinus dictator, who gained so much advantage over the enemy, that he obtained an ovation, or an inferior sort of triumph. Next year, the Gauls, in great numbers, marched within three miles of Rome; whereupon Quintius Pennus was created dictator. The armies being drawn up, a Gaul, of vast bulk and height, challenged any of the Romans to meet him in a single combat; which T. Manlius accepting, (by leave of the dictator) he killed his adversary, and, taking a golden chain from his neck, had the surname of Torquatus^a given him, which he and his posterity for a long time enjoyed. With this action the Gauls were so discouraged, that they fled by night into the country of the Tiburtines, and the dictator returned in triumph. Afterwards, when Furius Camillus was consul, in the year of Rome 405, the Gauls being up in arms against the Romans, and the armies within sight of each other, a Gaul, remarkable for his stature, and the richness of his arms, challenged any one of the Romans to a single combat; which was accepted of by M. Valerius, with leave of the consul, and in a short time he slew his adversary, being

^a Livius, lib. 7. cap. 6.^a Ibid cap 101.

being assisted in the fight, as was imagined, by a crow: Whence he had the surname of Corvus, and his posterity of Corvini. This combat brought both armies to a battle, in which the Gauls were entirely routed; and next year this Valerius Corvus was created consul, which was very extraordinary, in regard he was then only twenty-three years of age. For a short space after this the Romans had peace abroad, and concord at home, which was not their ordinary privilege. And by this time their dominions contained double the extent of what they enjoyed at the expulsion of the kings. Notwithstanding they did not yet possess the fourth part of Italy, now when their power had continued four hundred and ten years, about fourteen years before the fall of the Persian, and beginning of the Macedonian empire.

The Romans before this time had their wars nigh their own gates; but now their republic being increased in power, they ventured abroad against the warlike Samnites, a people who lived about one hundred miles east of Rome, in that part of Italy now called Abruzzo, near the territories of Naples. For the Campanians, an effeminate people, being vexed with the incursions of the Samnites, sent to Rome for aid, imploring it with tears, and offering both themselves and their country into the hands of the Romans; which the latter accepted of^a; and upon the Samnites refusing to desist from ravaging the territories of Capua and Campania, the Romans did undertake the war; and the consuls Valerius and Cornelius began

^a Titus Liv. lib. 7 cap. 16.

^a See page 84.

^a Livius, lib. 7 cap. 30,—38.

began their march with two armies; the one to Capua, and the other to Samnium. Valerius, after a most obstinate and bloody fight, overthrew the enemy, and became master of their camp: The other consul unwarily led his army into a dangerous place, where P. Decius, a tribune, or colonel of the army, ventured himself to break through the throng of the enemy, and thus became the mean of obtaining a great victory, for which the consul triumphed, and Decius was highly honoured, and nobly rewarded. The Roman soldiers taking up their winter-quarters in Capua, were so charmed with the pleasures of that place, that they resolved at any rate to take it for themselves. Their design being discovered, they began to rebel; but upon the approach of Valerius Corvus, who was chosen dictator, they yielded, and were received into favour.

Next year*, the Latins and Campanians revolting, Manlius Torquatus, now consul the third time, and his colleague Decius Mus, were sent by the senate to chastise them, if they would not submit on reasonable terms. But the Latins would be satisfied with nothing less, than that one half of the senators should be chosen out of their own nation, which could not be granted: Wherefore the war went on. But before the battle, the consuls agreed that one, if the army should be distressed, should devote themselves to the gods, and die for his country; and that no man, upon pain of death, should fight without orders. Before the engagement Decius had solemnly devoted himself; the ceremonies whereof are described by

Livy:

Livy^b: And in the time of the action, finding the Latins pressing hard upon that wing of the army commanded by him, he rushed violently into the midst of the enemies; where, after a great slaughter, he lost his life. Though Livy^c, and Florus^d, speak of this fact of Decius, as a noble act of religion, I find Cicero is of another mind^e; for he says, "Does thou think that the gods were pleased with the Decii devoting themselves to death? Was their wickedness so great that the deities could not be satisfied, unless such men were destroyed? Nay, it was a stratagem of the generals, to make their men fight with intrepidity, thinking, that if the commanding officer rushed upon the enemy with his horse at full speed, his army would follow, as they did." And indeed, after this act of Decius, the Romans fought with such courage, that the Latins were soon overthrown. At the same time the discipline of the consul Manlius was remarkable, if not too rigid and severe. His son Manlius passing with his troops before the battle, was challenged by Geminus Metius, captain of the Tusculans, whom he engaged, stripped and killed: But upon his return to the army, his father caused the lictor strike off his victorious son's head^f, because he had fought without orders. The Latins being defeated, begged peace; which was granted them. The consul Manlius returning in triumph, was met only by the old men, the young ones refusing to do him that honour, because of his son's death. In the year of Rome 422, about one hundred and seventy

^b Lib. 8. cap. 9. ^c Loc. cit. ^d Lib. 1. cap. 24. ^e Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 3. cap. 6. ^f Livius, lib. 2. cap. 7.

venty women were put to death, for their exquisite skill in the art of poisoning; which was discovered by a she-slave; and this was looked on as such a prodigy, that a dictator was created to drive a nail into Jupiter's temple*, in order to remove the danger that this threatened.

Various were the events of the war with the Samnites: For after they had been overcome, they renewed their insurrections with such vigour, that the Roman Senate found it necessary to create Cornelius Arvina dictator; who appointed Fabius Ambustus his master of horse: And they gave the Samnites a great overthrow, so as they of their own accord sent their prisoners and plunder to Rome, together with the dead body of the author of the revolt, who had killed himself, that he might not be delivered up to his enemies, and all this to purchase a peace. But the senate receiving the men, and such goods as the owners particularly challenged, denied them peace. This provoked Pontius the chief man among the Samnites, to such a degree, that he vowed to do the Romans a mischief; and in order to this end drew out his men to a place called Caudium, and putting ten soldiers in the habit of shepherds, sent them to Calacia, where the consuls, T. Veturius Calvinus, and Sp. Posthumius then lay**, with orders to report, that the Samnites were now in Apulia, and had almost taken Luceria. The consuls believing the report, made all the haste they could to relieve the town, lest their allies the Apulians might be obliged to join with the Samnites.

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In

* Livius, cap. 33.
V. C. 432.

** Titus Livius, lib. 9. cap. 1 & seqq.

* Ann.

In this hurry the Romans taking the nearest but the most dangerous way through the straits of Caudium, a place encompassed with high mountains, where they being blocked up on all sides by Pontius, could neither get out nor stay there for want of victuals. The Samnites having got the Romans in this net, sent to Herennius, the father of Pontius, a wise old man, but disabled from fighting, for his opinion what to do; who advised either to dismiss the Romans free and untouched, which would lay a perpetual obligation upon them; or put them all to the sword, which would so weaken them for a long time, as they could not have a powerful army to oppress their neighbours. Pontius would not hearken to either of these advices, but imposed upon the Romans the following articles: "That their whole army should march away only with their garments, having first, in token of slavery, passed under the jugum, or gallows, that they should wholly quit Samnium, removing all their colonies, and that both the Romans and Samnites should live in terms of confederacy and alliance." To these hard terms, the consuls in their present circumstances consented, which, so far as at present they could, were instantly performed, and six hundred hostages given for performing the rest. Upon the soldiers return to Rome, disarmed and half naked, there was nothing but sorrow and confusion for this disaster and shameful treaty. Posthumius offered that he and his colleague would deliver themselves to the Samnites, since they only were obliged to observe the articles, which the Roman state knew nothing of. But Pontius re-
fusing

fusing this offer, and exclaiming against the Romans for perfidy, they on the other hand raised a powerful army, under the conduct of Papirius Cursor the consul *, who revenged former affronts, overthrew the Samnites in several battles, making them all pass under the Jugum, took several towns from them, recovered the six hundred hostages, and with difficulty granted them two years truce. In short, as Florus † tell us, “The Romans, in fifty years time, by the Fabii and Papirii and their sons, ruined both town and country of the Samnites, so as scarce any footsteps of them remain, nor does it easily appear where there should be matter for four and twenty triumphs.”

The Samnites drew the Hetrurians into the quarrel; but the force of the former was well broken before the latter began to stir, so as both became at length tributary to Rome. In the year from the building of the city 441, Appius Claudius, one of the censors, made the famous causeway, or highway, called *Via Appia* ‡; and also brought a channel of fresh water into the city; which were very great and useful undertakings. The city became still more populous: For in the year of Rome, 460, there were entered into the Census two hundred sixty-two thousand, three hundred twenty-two free citizens §. And here ends the first decad of Livy; the second being wanting, makes it more difficult to piece up the Roman history between this and the second Punic war, where Livy's third decad begins.

The Tarentines and their adherents were the last of the Italians who made trial of the Roman

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arms.

* Ann. U. C. 433.

† Idem, lib. 10. cap. ult.

‡ Lib. 1. cap. 16.

§ Livius, lib. 9. cap. 29

arms. They had interposed themselves as mediators between the Romans and Samnites, with a peremptory denunciation of war to that party that should dare to refuse the peace they offered. The Romans having their hands free of other wars, made those words ground of a new quarrel: They also complained that some ships of theirs were robbed, and sent ambassadors to Tarentum demanding restitution; and some wrong being pretended to be done to those envoys¹, this was a further handle to begin the controversy. Tarentum lieth on the south-east part of Italy, on the sea which is now called Golfo di Tarento. The people finding a war approaching, got the Lucanians, Messapians, Brutians and Apulians, their neighbours, to join with them, and also procured the Samnites, and some other subjects of Rome to rebel and take their part. But experience of the Roman strength having taught all these people their own weakness, they therefore sent for Pyrrhus king of Epirus, by whose help, being a Grecian, as the Tarentines also were, hopes were conceived that the dominions of Rome should be confined to narrower bounds.

Pyrrhus was the son of Æacides king of the Illyrians, and is said² to have been descended of Achilles. Being left of his father very young, he was taken care of by Glaucias, who secured him from those who would have killed him, and re-established him in spite of his enemies, and defeated Neoptolemus his competitor to the crown. When he came to be of age, he proved an ambitious

¹ *et. q. 2. g. d. Florus, lib. 2. cap. 22.* ² *Plutarch. in Pyrrho.*

bitious man, but always richer in hope than in possession. He gave proofs of his valour at the battle of Ipsus*, defeated Demetrius, and made himself entirely master of Macedonia; but about seven months after his conquest, he was expelled out of the kingdom. The fall of Demetrius having increased the power of Lyfimachus in Macedonia, and Pyrrhus being unable to deal with him, he was forced to live in peace; which he abhorred as much as a wiser prince would have done war. In these circumstances the ambassadors of the Tarentines came to him with compliments and presents, telling how much they desired a general of his conduct and reputation in their wars against the Romans, offering ships to carry his men into Italy. Pyrrhus's army being then idle, he immediately complied with the proposals made him*; and sent over with Cineas, an excellent orator and scholar of Demosthenes, three thousand men to Tarentum; and soon after he embarked himself with twenty elephants, three thousand horses, twenty thousand foot, and five hundred bowmen and slingers. Meeting with a storm, his ships were much dispersed; however, upon his arrival, he rendezvoused his troops, and being created general of the Tarentines, he began to act: And first of all he restrained these people from drinking, games, and idle shows, to which they were immoderately given. Upon notice that Lævinus the consul was approaching with the Roman army, he sent an herald to enquire if the consul would accept of his mediation between the Romans

* See Vol. III. p. 235. * Ann. U. C. 473.

mans and the Grecian cities in Italy? To which Lævinus answered, "That he neither esteemed him as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy." Whereupon the armies came to an engagement; in which, both sides fighting valiantly, Pyrrhus had his horse slain under him, and was obliged to change his armour and cloke with Megacles, who being taken for the king, was killed. But at last the Roman horse being frightened with the noise and smell of the elephants, broke their ranks, and Pyrrhus charged them so warmly, as to give them a total overthrow, taking their camp, and thirteen hundred prisoners.

The Romans with great haste recruited their troops, and supplied their legions with fresh men; which Pyrrhus understanding, dispatched Cineas, a cunning man, and eloquent orator, to Rome, with presents and offers of peace; who indeed prevailed with some members of the senate to hearken to his proposals, though they refused his presents. But Appius Claudius, then blind with age, coming to the senate, so warmed the house with his speech, as Cineas got no other answer than this, "That if Pyrrhus expected the friendship of the Romans, he must first leave Italy with his army, and then treat of peace." Fabricius, one of the prisoners, refused offers of gold made by Pyrrhus, and appeared nothing damped by the fear of his great army, and mighty elephants. The same Fabricius being released, and made consul at Rome, Pyrrhus's physician wrote him a letter, offering to kill his master; but this noble Roman despised

despised so base an offer, and wrote in conjunction with his colleague, giving a discovery of the treason; which being found true, the traitor was put to death: And to requite this act of friendship, Pyrrhus dismissed all the prisoners without ransom. The Roman army being recruited, came to a second engagement near Asculum; where, after two days fighting, the Romans with considerable loss were forced to retire to their camp. Pyrrhus himself was wounded, and when his friend congratulated him upon the victory, he said, "If we gain another at this price, we are utterly undone." Mean-time ambassadors came out of Sicily, beseeching him to come and drive the Carthaginians out of that isle, and offering to put several of their cities into his hands: And other letters came from Greece, telling that Ptolemy Ceraunus was killed in a battle against the Gauls, and that he might return in a lucky time, for the Macedonians wanted a king. These things made him uneasy what course to take. At last he resolved to go into Sicily, whither he went with the greater part of his army, and in less than two years had considerable success; but turning tyrannical in his government, he was hated of the people, and his fortune began to decline. In the time of his absence, the Romans, having recruited their armies, sore distressed the Tarentines and their confederates; whereupon they intreated Pyrrhus's return, and he came back to them with an army of twenty thousand foot*, and three thousand horse. The Roman

* Ann. U. C. 478.

Roman army under *Curius Dentatus*, and *Cornelius Lentulus* the consuls, soon engaged him and his allies. By this time they had learned not to fear the elephants, but attacked them vigorously with darts, and with fired pitch and hemp; which made the beasts turn back and do great hurt to their own party, so as the Romans gained a notable victory. *Pyrhus* having lost twenty thousand men, had his elephants killed, and his camp taken^a, which learned the Romans the art of encamping. He himself, with the remainder of his forces, embarked and returned to *Epirus*, having spent six years in this expedition; which in the end proved unsuccessful. He would have been a better general under some great king, than a prince with absolute command, being rather valiant in war, than prudent and steady in his conduct. *Pyrhus* being gone, the Romans soon made themselves masters of all these Italians who had confederated against them; their dominions being thus extended over the whole of ancient Italy, five hundred miles in length, and one hundred and thirty in breadth. This was the state of their affairs in the year of their city 489, which we reckon 3686 from the creation of the world, and before the birth of Christ 264 years.

§ 9. About this time *Carthage* was a powerful republic, that had subsisted above six hundred years, being of *Phœnician* or *Canaanitish* extract. The learned *Bochart*^a hath given us a curious collection concerning its antiquities, and also of the *Punic*, or *Carthaginian* language^b, and its correspondence

^a *Eutropius*, lib. 2. p. 19. ^b In *Chanaan*, de coloniis & sermone *Phœnicum*, lib. 1. cap. 24. ^c *Ibid.* lib. 2.

dence with the Hebrew; but I shall only notice, that Carthage once commanded most part of Africa that now goes by the name of Barbary, extending about two thousand miles in length, along the Mediterranean, besides great acquisitions in Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, and other lesser isles, as also in Spain. The Romans began a war with this republic upon account of the Mamertines, Lords of Messina; who being attacked by Hiero king of Syracuse and the Carthaginians, asked succours of the Romans, which they willingly granted. This war continued twenty-four years, namely, from the year of Rome 490, to 513. Polybius^c hath a large account of the transactions of that time; but my intended brevity alloweth me only to touch at a few of the most material events. In the first year of the first Punic war, as this is commonly called, Appius Claudius, the Roman consul, was sent over to Sicily with a small fleet; who raised the siege of Messina, and afterwards defeated both Hiero and the Carthaginians in two several battles. Notwithstanding the great waste of men by continual wars, there was this year entered into the Census 292,224 free citizens of Rome^d. The following year both the consuls were ordered for Sicily with all their legions; where they managed the war so successfully, that going to invest Syracuse, Hiero was glad to make peace with them on these terms, "To restore all prisoners without ransom, and to pay a hundred talents of silver;" which the Romans willingly accepted, because the Carthaginians being master at sea,

^c Historiarum, lib. 1. ^d Livii Epitome, lib. 16.

sea, Hiero's friendship was useful to supply their army with provisions and necessaries. Next year they sent only two legions to Sicily, and took Agrigentum, overthrowing Annibal, the Carthaginian, who came to relieve it by land. But still the Carthaginians being entire masters at sea, relieved all the maritime towns in Sicily, and sadly molested the coast of Italy, their own interest in Afric being out of all danger. The Romans then resolved to have a fleet; but how to come by it, was the great difficulty; for till this time they had neither any ships of war, nor carpenters to build them. But having thoroughly viewed a Carthaginian vessel or two driven ashore, they set about building a fleet of a hundred ships of five banks of oars aside, and twenty of three banks, as well as they could, teaching their men in a strange way to row upon land*, knowing that their courage must supply all defects. The consuls Cornelius and Duilius, in the fourth year of the war, boldly ventured aboard these ships, and proceeded to engage the enemy. Cornelius with seventeen vessels parting from the rest, was surprized and taken by the Carthaginians: But Duilius with the rest of the fleet defeated fifty sail of the enemy, and by the help of a new grappling engine boarded their ships, fighting as on dry land, till they were taken. Pursuing his victory, he raised the siege of Ægesta, and took Marcella by storm. And the following year, the Romans invaded the islands of Sardinia and Corsica with so good success, that Hanno, the Carthaginian general, was there

* Polybius, lib. I. p. 18, 29. edit. Amst. 1670.

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there slain, and his army cut off by Cornelius Scipio, the consul. This victory was followed by another, over Annibal, whom they surprized at sea, newly recruited from Carthage: For which the unfortunate admiral was crucified by his own soldiers who out-lived the defeat.

After the war had continued eight years*, the Romans finding themselves so strong as well by sea as by land, resolv'd to remove the seat of the war into Afric; and accordingly put to sea with a fleet of 330 sail, under the command of Regulus and Manlius the consuls. The Carthaginians, to keep the wars from their own doors, oppos'd them by a fleet of 350 sail; and a threefold battle was fought on the same day, in which the Romans, by their great courage, and by the help of their grappling engines, became conquerors, taking fifty-four ships, sinking thirty, and losing only twenty-four of their own. In pursuit of this victory they made a descent upon Afric, taking Clupea upon the promontory Hermea. This being done, they march'd into the country, laying waste all before them. Manlius return'd to Rome, and Regulus was continued in Afric with a proconsular power; who encamping on the river Bagrada, was oblig'd to engage a serpent of a monstrous bigness; which with his engines and darts, as if he had been assaulting a city, he killed, and sent the skin thereof, being a hundred and twenty feet long, to Rome[†], where it remained as a monument in one of their temples till the war with Spain[‡], which was 115 years after this. The Carthaginians

[†] Livii Epitome, lib. 17.

^{*} Ann. U. C. 497.

[‡] Gellii Noctes Atticæ, lib. 6. cap. 3.

[‡] Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 4.

thaginians ordered a considerable army against the Romans; but Regulus, by chusing an hilly place for the field of battle, where his enemies had no advantage by their elephants nor by their horse, soon defeated them. Afterwards the Carthaginians chose Xantippus, a brave Lacedæmonian, for their general; who engaging Regulus in a plain field, where the horse and elephants had liberty to act their part, gave the Romans a great overthrow, the proconsul himself with a considerable number of his men being taken prisoners, his army cut off, and only about two thousand escaping to Clupea¹, where their enemies besieged them. When this overthrow was heard of at Rome, the senate caused equip a strong fleet of 350 sail, under the conduct of M. Æmilius and Servius Fulvius the consuls; who encountered the Carthaginians, and defeated them near their own coasts, taking 114 of their ships with all that was in them². This being done, they took in the garrison of their friends in Clupea. But in their way homeward, they met with such a tempest, that of 363 vessels, only eighty escaped being lost. Next year they equipped a fleet of 220 sail; but of these, sailing through the Streights, 150 were cast away in another tempest. Such redoubled losses discouraged their naval preparations, and made them place their hopes in their land-forces. However, Cæcilius and Metellus, the consuls, were sent with some legions to Sicily, in sixty transport-vessels. When they came by land to engage the enemy, they ordered their front to retire before the

¹ Polyb. lib. 1. p. 50.

² Ibid. 52, 53, 54.

the elephants of the Carthaginians, into some ditches; where they so plied the beasts with darts and javelins, that they recoiled, and made great havoc among their own party, and the Romans gained a notable victory¹. The war had now continued fourteen years²; and the Carthaginians being weary of it, sent Attilius Regulus, their prisoner, with some other ambassadors, to sue for peace, obliging him by oath to return, if peace was denied. Yet, contrary to their expectation, he openly in the senate discovered the weakness of the Carthaginians and advised the senate to make no peace; and, according to his oath, returned to Afric; where his enraged enemies are said to have put him to a most tormenting death: Though some learned men³ are of opinion that he died a natural death, and that the other report was only raised by the wife of Regulus, to excuse her hard usage of the Carthaginian prisoners, Bostar and Amilcar, committed to her custody, as a pledge for the redemption of her husband. Indeed the silence of Polybius, a diligent and faithful historian, and next to that time of any extant, makes me to question the story of Regulus's torments. Next year the Romans lost their fleet, by the mismanagement of Claudius Pulcher and other misfortunes, and for about five years after that they abstained from armaments by sea, especially because the public treasury was exhausted. But the Carthaginians being very troublesome on

¹ Polybius, lib. i. p. 58, 59.

² Ann. U. C. 503.

³ See upon this question learned Notes on Appianus Alexandrinus, p. 4.—6. edit. Amst. 1670. Also see the Great Historical Dictionary on the word Attilius.

the coasts of Italy, made the Romans once more to fit out a considerable fleet out of their private purses, under the command of Lutatius, the consul; who besieged Drepanum in Sicily. This made the Carthaginians in great haste to victual and man their ships, under the conduct of Amilcar; who came to an engagement with Lutatius, where the Carthaginians, near the isles Ægates, got a great overthrow, having fifty of their fleet sunk, and seventy taken^a. This victory brought on a peace, which was concluded on the following terms, "That the Carthaginians should quit all Sicily: That they should make no war with Hiero, nor against the Syracusans, nor their allies: That they should relieve all captives and prisoners without ransom: And that they should pay two thousand two hundred Euboic talents to the Romans in twenty years time." The senate narrowed the time of payment, and added a thousand talents to the sum^b. Thus the first Punic war ended, in the year of Rome 513. During the course thereof, the Romans are said to have lost seven hundred vessels, and the Carthaginians five hundred.

This war being concluded, two new tribes were added, viz. the Veline and Quirine^c, which made up the whole tribes to be thirty-five; and this number was never exceeded. The Romans at this time began to be a little more polite; and the first tragedies and comedies were made by Livius Andronicus, about the year of the city 514.

The Carthaginians, soon after the peace, fell into a bloody war with their mercenaries; which is

^a Polybius, lib. 1. p. 87. ^b Ibid. p. 89. ^c Livii Epitome, lib. 19.

at large described by Polybius^a; where we may find, that above forty thousand of them were destroyed at one time. And this may shew how dangerous such an army of hired soldiers may prove, when they turn mutinous for want of pay and employment. The Carthaginians were also obliged to quit the whole isle of Sardinia to the Romans, and to pay twelve hundred talents over and above their compact.

For five years successively the temple of Janus was shut; and in the sixth it was opened by reason of a war with the Illyrians, a people dwelling nigh Greece, in that country which is now called Dalmatia. Teuta, queen of that nation, allowing her subjects to rob by sea, they happened to fall upon some Italian merchants, whom they used barbarously. Ambassadors being sent from Rome to demand satisfaction, the queen took their freedom so ill, that she sent after them, and slew one of them. This so provoked the Romans, that they proclaimed war^b, sending the consuls Fulvius with a fleet, and Posthumius with a land-army to be revenged on the Illyrians^c. Fulvius had Coreyra surrendered to him: And the armies having joined, most of the Illyric towns yielded to the consuls; which obliged the queen to send to Rome for peace; which was granted on condition, "That she should quit all Illyricam, except a few places, for which she should pay a yearly tribute; and that her people should not sail beyond the river Lissus with more than two barks, and these

^a Polybius, lib. 1 p 91.—126 ^b Ibid p 124 ^c Ann. U. C. 514.

^d Florus, lib. 2 cap 5. Livii Epitome, lib 10. Polybius, lib 1 p. 126.—140.

these unarmed." By this peace the Romans enlarged their territories, the Grecian cities were free of neighbours that had been very troublesome, and were so pleased with the generous behaviour of the Romans, that the Corinthians made them free of the Isthmian games, one of the four solemn exercises of Greece. At Rome the prætors were increased to four, one of whom was sent to the province of Sicily, and another to that of Sardinia.

The Gauls designing again to attack the Roman republic, called for the assistance of their neighbours called the Gessatæ, dwelling on the other side of the mountains near the river Rhone. This being granted, they came into Etruria, with an army of fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse*. The Romans made the greatest preparations possible to oppose them; which was the more necessary, because the enemy had come all the way to Clusium, three days journey from Rome; and being laden with plunder, had thoughts of returning home with the spoil. Mean time the Roman army attacked them before and behind; which obliged them to form two fronts, and fight with great disadvantage, especially the Gessatæ, who had the vanity to fight naked; so that in the end they were overthrown with a great slaughter, forty thousand of them being killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners, and among the rest Concolitanus, a king of the Gessatæ. For which victory, the consuls obtained a most splendid triumph, scarce any being more remarkable, for the

* Polybius, p. 140.

† Idem. lib. 1. p. 155, — 165.

the number of the prisoners, or variety and value of the spoils. The next year great inroads were made into the territories of the Gauls, and they were several times overthrown; which made them beg peace on any terms. But Claudius Marcellus, and Cornelius Scipio being then consuls, in the year of Rome 531, persuaded the Romans to continue the war. Whereupon the Gauls, resolving to make their last efforts, to that end procured thirty thousand auxiliaries from the Gessate. The consuls opened the campaign with the siege of Acerre; and the Gauls invested Clastidium, a confederate town of the Romans. Marcellus, with two-thirds of the cavalry, and a detachment of light armed men, marched night and day towards the enemy; and notwithstanding the inequality of their numbers, and the fatigue of his long marches, fell upon them, and after a bloody battle, overthrew them³. With his own hands, Marcellus killed Viridomarus king of the Gessate, and dedicated the third *opima spoila*, or royal spoils, after Romulus, to Jupiter Feretrius⁴, and obtained a noble triumph. The Gauls who escaped, fled to Mediolanum, now called Milan; which being soon after taken, the war ended, after six years continuance, to the enlargement of the Roman dominions, colonies being planted not long after, at Cremona and Placentia.

§ 10. The second Punic war, which began soon after the Gallic was concluded, proved the most dangerous of any that ever the Roman state was engaged in. And I go now in as few words as

VOL. IV.

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I can,

³ Polyb. lib. 2. p. 169, 170. ⁴ Florus, lib. 2. cap. 4.

I can, to consider the rise and progress thereof. The Carthaginians being vexed that the Romans had taken from them the rich isles of Sicily and Sardinia, and imposed a heavy tribute upon their state; particularly Amilcar Barca, the father of Hannibal, a man of great authority, who had saved Carthage in the wars with the mercenaries²; thinking these articles of peace in the conclusion of the first Punic war had been too easily granted to the Romans, vowed revenge. To this end, he embarked with a considerable army for Spain, taking with him his son Hannibal, then a boy of nine years old; whom he made swear at the altar, never to be a friend to the Romans. Amilcar, after considerable success in Spain died, and Asdrubal his son-in-law was entrusted with the command of the army. Upon his death, Hannibal being much beloved by the army, was made lieutenant-general, though then but twenty-six years of age. He having reduced most part of Spain on the other side of the river Iberus, attacked Saguntum, a city in alliance with the Romans; from which they desired him to desist, as contrary to the treaties with them: But he went on with the siege, till he had reduced and ruined the city. Whereupon the Romans sent ambassadors to Carthage, to require Hannibal to be delivered up; and in case this should be refused, to denounce war. The Carthaginians being unwilling to grant what was proposed, the senior ambassador, holding up the skirt of his robes, said, "Here we bring you down water in our robes, as you did in the first Punic war." VI. 107

² Plutarch. in Hannibale. I know that life is not writ by Plutarch, tho' it goes by his name. * Appian. in Annibalicis, p. 575, in edit. Amstelodami, qua utitur.

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you war or peace, chuse which." And the other side replied, "which you will." Whereupon war was declared and accepted of. Hannibal having left Hanno with some troops to secure the peace in Spain, marched over the Pyrenean mountains, and in some few days arrived at the foot of the Alps, with an army of fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, and thirty-seven elephants. Sending some of this number home, himself with the remainder passed the mountains in the winter season, not without great difficulty, and considerable loss, scarce ever an army having passed that way before, though many have done it since. Coming to the country of the Insubres, on the Italian side of the mountains, his army consisted, according to Polybius^d, (who gives the fullest, and perhaps the best account of the rise and beginning of this war) of twelve thousand Africans, eight thousand Spaniards, and six thousand horse. The consul Scipio hearing of Hannibal's approach, hastened to meet him, before his men were well refreshed; and both armies engaged at Ticinum, now Pavia, where the consul was wounded, but saved from death by his son, afterwards called Africanus^e; and, in a few hours the Romans were defeated, especially by the Numidian cavalry, who unexpectedly fell in upon their rear. After this, Sempronius the other consul joined Scipio at the river Trebia, and inclined to give the enemy battle, before too many of the Gauls had joined Hannibal, as they generally inclined to do. Scipio, who was now under cure of his wounds,

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was

^b Appian. in *Hispanica*, p. 436.
^c Polyb. lib. 3. p. 272.
^d Ibid. p. 290. ^e Ann. U. C. 535.

was against fighting at that time; but Hannibal was glad of it; and Sempronius was so keen, that he caused his men to pass the river to their arm-pits. In this condition Hannibal attacked them, while the Romans were wet, weary, and almost starved with hunger and cold; and gave them a great overthrow, twenty-six thousand being either slain, taken, or drowned in the river, and ten thousand are said to have escaped to Placentia. The Carthaginians, after the pursuit, returned to their camp, almost stupified with cold; for it was a rough snowy day, which killed many of their men, and almost all their elephants.

These losses made the Romans more diligent in their preparations for the next campaign, for managing whereof C. Flaminius, and Servilius Geminus were chosen consuls in the year of Rome 536. The former of these had a good faculty of speaking, but no great skill in war. Hannibal marched to Etruria: The river Arno at that time had overflowed all its banks; and he passing that way through the fens, as the nearest and most unexpected road, marched three or four days and nights through water, without any sleep or rest; which sorely distressed his men and beasts; and himself riding upon an elephant, which was the only one left, lost one of his eyes. Being at last arrived upon dry ground, he wasted the country with fire and sword, to provoke the fiery temper of Flaminius, which had the desired effect; for that consul became resolute upon a battle, without waiting for the assistance of his colleague's forces.

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The place of engagement was near to the lake Thrasymenus, where Flaminius lost his life, and had his whole army routed, before they could see who attacked them, by reason of a mist rising from the lake. About fifteen thousand Romans were killed, and six thousand escaped to a village, where they were obliged to yield themselves prisoners; Servilius the other consul, upon notice of Hannibal's march into Etruria, sent four thousand men to support his colleague: But they coming too late, were environed by the enemy, and forced to submit. Hannibal dealt courteously with the prisoners, dismissing them without ransom, to gain the affection of the country, tho' he shewed more severity to those who fell into his hands afterwards. The Romans being under great consternation by reason of their present circumstances, thought fit to elect Fabius Maximus their dictator, with absolute authority, who chose Minutius Rufus his master of horse. The dictator was a man of caution and boldness^a, who by keeping his army on higher grounds, straitened Hannibal in his quarters, cut off his provisions, gave him continual alarms; sometimes cut off his rear, but never came to a general engagement. Hence Virgil¹, says "That he restored the Roman affairs by delays."

When the dictator's six months were expired, *Emilius Paulus*, and *Terentius Varro* were chosen consuls; the former being a prudent, experienced person, the latter, a hot, rash, and inconsiderate man. These gathered together an army of

^a Appian. in Annibalicis, p. 552. v. 846. Cunctando restituit rem.

¹ Plutarch. in Fabio: ¹ Enclid. 6.

of 80,000 foot, and 6000 horse, who met with the Carthaginians at a village in Apulia, called Cannæ; where Varro resolved to engage against the advice of Æmilius. Hannibal's army, tho' inferior to the Romans in numbers, were superior in horse, which gave them great advantage in a plain field, which their captain with great military skill chose, so as the Romans had the wind, the sun and the dust all in their face. Besides, he placed the best of his men in the right and left wing, and formed the center like an half moon; which, when attacked by the Romans, gave way; and his wings almost surrounded his adversaries, assaulting them both in front and flank^k. Livy also tell us, "That the consul Æmilius being fore wounded, was obliged to dismount^l, and quit his horse; the Roman knights taking this for a signal, all dismounted; which Hannibal observing, said, I would rather he had delivered them to me bound hand and foot;" meaning he was as sure of them as if they were so. In fine, the consul Æmilius was killed, and the Romans got so great an overthrow, that Livy says, there were forty thousand foot, and two thousand horse killed. Plutarch^m tells us, that fifty thousand were slain in the battle; and Polybiusⁿ makes the number of the slain seventy thousand. By the bye, we may notice, that we have no continued series of the Roman history after this from Polybius, his fourth and fifth books being taken up for most part with the affairs of the Greeks; and nothing

^k Plutarch. in Fabio. See also Sir Walt. Raleigh's History of the World, and Copperplate, p 386. ^l Livius, lib 25. cap. 49. ^m In Fabio. ⁿ Polybius, lib 3. p 371.

nothing remains of him after the fifth, but scattered fragments. In this terrible battle, the Romans lost two quaestors, twenty-one tribunes, eight of the senatorian order, and so many equites, or gentlemen, that 'tis said three bushels of rings pulled off their dead bodies, were sent to Carthage. Terentius Varro saved himself by flying to Venusia. Polybius^o says, Hannibal lost only four thousand Gauls, fifteen hundred Africans, and two hundred horsemen.

No wonder such losses as the Romans had in four battles, at Ticinium, Trebia, Thrasymenus, and Cannæ, brought their state to the brink of ruin. They could do little more now than defend their walls, and encourage their citizens almost sinking with sorrow. But divine providence had reserved this state for greater matters, and therefore it was recovered out of this condition. Maherbal told Hannibal, if he would push this victory, he might in five days feast at the capitol. The general said, this required more time. 'Tis likely he thought he wanted money, of which he was still ill provided, and other necessaries for besieging Rome; Alas, said the other, "the Gods have not given all things to one man, thou knowest, O Hannibal, to overcome, but not^p to improve the victory?" But instead of going straight to Rome, Hannibal went to Capua, where he wintered, and the luxury and pleasure of that place debauched his whole army, so as^q Capua became a Cannæ to the Carthaginians.

In

^o Polybius, lib. 3. p. 371.
^a cap. 6.

^p Liv. lib. 22. cap. 51.

^q Florus, lib.

In the mean time the Romans began to gather courage. Fabius Maximus and Marcellus were chosen consuls in the year of Rome 539. The Romans called the first their shield, and the latter their sword; and Hannibal himself said, "He feared Fabius as his governor, and Marcellus as his enemy;" because the one kept him from hurting others, and the other did hurt to him. Hannibal's fortune began to change. Marcellus gave him a repulse nigh Nola, where the Carthaginians lost five thousand men, and the Romans only five hundred, according to Plutarch. In Spain the Roman Scipios had great success, overthrowing Hanno and Asdrubal, whereby their design of assisting Hannibal in Italy was disappointed. In Sardinia, T. Manlius defeated a Carthaginian army*, taking a great many prisoners, among whom were Asdrubal, Hanno and Mago, men of renown. In Sicily, by the death of Hiero king of Syracuse, and the murder of Hieronymus, his grandchild, affairs took another turn. The prevailing faction declared for the Carthaginians; whereupon Marcellus was sent thither with an army, who took the city of the Leontines, and besieged Syracuse by sea and land: But was not able to storm it by reason of the machines of that noble mathematician Archimedes, who dismounted the battering engines of the Romans, cast prodigious stones and beams upon their ships, overturned them, and hoisted them up in the air. By which means he became formidable, Marcellus calling him † Bria-reus.

* Plutarch. in Fabio, & in Marcello. † Idem in Marcello. ‡ Livius, lib. 23. cap. 26. § Livius, lib. 23. cap. 40, 41. ¶ Plutarch. in Marcello. Polybius, lib. 8. p. 715.—721.

reus. However, after three years siege, Marcellus, when the city was observing a festival to Diana, surprized it at an ill guarded tower; but this noble Roman was grieved at the destruction his army made in so great a city, and particularly vexed that Archimedes, who was so intent upon his mathematical projects, that he heard nothing of the noise of taking the city, was killed by a soldier, without allowing him time to finish his mathematical demonstration. From the ruins of this city, Marcellus carried to Rome the most beautiful pictures, tables and statues that had been ever seen there before. When consul a fourth time, in the year of Rome 543, he vindicated himself from several reproaches, drove Hannibal out of Apulia: When proconsul, he fought several times with him. At last Marcellus, being made consul a fifth time, in the year of Rome 549, and sixtieth year of his age, seeking an occasion to fight with Hannibal, he was slain in an ambuscade which his adversary had laid for him, and honourably buried by his own men. He was the only Roman that to that time had defeated this Carthaginian, and was the man in the world whom he most feared. Polybius speaking of Marcellus's death, censures him for too rash personal adventures, unbecoming a general; which Hannibal always took care to shun.

The narrow limits I have prescribed to myself, do not allow me to recount all the particular events of this war; but shall only notice some of the most remarkable that had influence on the happy

⁷ Polybius, lib. 10 p. 840.

py finishing thereof. - As, that when Asdrubal was sent by the Carthaginians into Italy to assist his brother Hannibal, Livius Salinator, and Claudius Nero being consuls, in the year of Rome 546, they having joined their forces, led Asdrubal into a dangerous place near the river Metaurum, where they cut him off with all his elephants, and his whole army, to the number of fifty-six thousand men²; which they signified to Hannibal next day, by setting up his brother's head on a pole near his camp.

The Romans were now in a more prosperous condition, having reduced Spain and Sicily to their obedience; only Hannibal, being yet in the bowels of Italy, was a great curb to them. To remedy this evil, Scipio, called afterwards Africanus, being chosen consul, in the year of Rome 548, being then only twenty-nine years of age, offered to go to Africa, where he hoped so to manage matters, that the Carthaginians would be forced to recall Hannibal out of Italy for the defence of their own country. Fabius Maximus opposed this motion with some heat; yet it was gone into. Scipio was a man of excellent qualities, and universally beloved. He had followed the camp since he was seventeen years of age. After the battle of Cannæ, observing the young Romans consulting to forsake Italy, he drew his sword, and made them all swear never to abandon their country. His father and uncle were slain, commanding the armies in Spain. Himself was chosen ædilis when very young, and, at twenty-four years of age,

² Plutarch in Hannibale. Polybius, lib. 11. p. 866,—870. Appianus, p. 591. ⁴ Plutarch. in Scipione Africano.

age, was made vice-consul to carry on the war in Spain, with a force too small for such an undertaking. Nevertheless he had great success: For he took New Carthage, won the battle of Bésula and several others; prevailed with Syphax, king of the Massylians in Afric (who afterward proved treacherous) to join in league with the Romans; protected the innocent; was courteous even to his enemies, liberal to his soldiers, so as they all loved him, and never disputed his commands; Whence the Romans could not have chosen a fitter person to command in so important an expedition. Scipio having got his commission, in forty-five days, got an army and fleet ready to go into Afric; with which he sailed first into Sicily, where he increased his army, and set in order the affairs of that country; then embarking, he sailed for Afric, where he defeated Hanno, killing him and three thousand of his men. Thereafter he cut to pieces an army of forty thousand Carthaginians, taking abundance of prisoners. These redoubled losses made the Carthaginians recall Hannibal out of Italy; which he left, after he had staid sixteen years in it, cursing his friends who had not sent him supplies of men and money when he was so successful, and himself for not pushing his victories. When Hannibal landed in Afric, he had an interview with Scipio about the of peace: But they coming to no agreement, next day the armies came to a general engagement at Zama, to shew whether Rome or Carthage should give laws to the world. In this battle the Carthaginians

^b Appianus in Hispaniis, p. 441, — 464. ^c Appianus in Punicis.

ginians were entirely routed, twenty thousand being killed, as many taken prisoners, and Hannibal himself put to flight. Carthage submitted to such terms as the conqueror imposed^d, namely, "That the Carthaginians should enjoy their territories in Africa, and the Romans should hold Spain, with the isles in the Mediterranean: That all rebels and deserters should be delivered to the Romans: That the Carthaginians should give up all their beaked ships, with their tamed elephants, and tame no more: That they should make no war, in Africa or elsewhere,^e without leave from the Romans: To whom they should also pay ten thousand talents of silver in fifty years time, and give an hundred hostages for performance of the whole." This being ratified by the consent of the senate of Rome and Carthage, and performed so far as could be at present, five hundred Carthaginian ships being burnt in their harbour, Scipio returned in triumph to Rome, and was called Africanus. Thus was the second Punic war ended, seventeen years after it was begun, 553 after the building of Rome, 3750 from the creation of the world, and 200 before the birth of Christ.

This war being finished, arts and learning, riches and luxury increased at Rome, and with these a boundless ambition to increase their dominions all the world over. The Macedonian war was already begun. The Romans alledged they had been provoked to it by the conduct of the Macedonian: For Philip, king of Macedon, the tenth after Alexander the Great, hearing of the
battle

^d Livius, lib. 30. Plutarch. in Scipione Africano. Polybius, lib. 15. p. 982, 993. & lib. 16 p. 1019.

battle of Cannæ, and of the many victories of the Carthaginians, dispatched ambassadors for his own interest to make a league with Hannibal. These ambassadors falling into the hands of the Romans, when examined, told a falsehood, even, "That they were sent to offer the help of their king to the senate and people of Rome." Whereupon they were honourably dismissed. But in their way home, they went to Hannibal's camp, and there concluded a league with him; the import whereof was, "That King Philip should come to Italy, with all his forces, to assist the Carthaginians in the Roman war, until it were finished, and the conquest should be left to the state of Carthage; and that afterwards Hannibal should march into Greece, and assist Philip against all his enemies, leaving to him the possession of the country." Sovereign Providence, that ruleth the world, disappointed these projects: For the ambassadors were intercepted and seized at sea by the Romans; the league was found about them, and themselves sent prisoners to Rome. However, a new embassy concluded that affair much upon the same terms. The Roman senate judged this conjunction very dangerous, and that it was easier with a small force to detain Philip in Greece, than with all their strength to resist him and Hannibal, if they should unite their troops in the heart of Italy: And therefore they sent M. Valerius, the prætor, by sea, to raise commotions in Greece, and de-

* Justin, lib. 29. cap. 4. Livius, lib. 23. cap. 38, 39. Lib. 24. cap. 40. See also the Form of an Oath, by which Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians, and Xenophanes, ambassador from Philip, king of Macedon, concluded a league, in Polybius, lib. 7. p. m. 699, — 703.

tain Philip at home; which he did with so good success, that he obliged the Macedonian to sue for peace; which the Romans, considering their present circumstances, easily granted.

§ 11. The second Punic war being ended, the Romans observing that nothing but the Macedonian kingdom hindered them from extending their dominions into Asia, resolved that this obstacle must be removed out of the way. And to this end they soon found occasions of war against King Philip. They remembered the league he had before concluded with Hannibal: The Athenians complained that he tyrannized over them, and had violated their temples, altars and sepulchres. The senate then decreed to relieve the Athenians and make war against Philip. P. Sulpicius, the consul, was sent against him; who being assisted by Attalus, king of Pergamus, and the ships of the Rhodians, had good success. Next year T. Quintus Flaminius being consul, in the year of Rome 555, he had a conference with Philip about peace; but that taking no effect, the consul being endowed with a martial spirit, capable of great actions, though he was but then thirty years of age, resolved to push the war: And having got a brave army of twenty-six thousand men, whereof the Ætolians made six thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he passed the mountains that lead into Macedonia, and followed Philip into Thessaly, where he gave him a great overthrow at Cynocéphalæ, killing eight thousand and taking five thousand prisoners. This brought Philip to seek

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^a Florus, lib. 2. cap. 7.

^b Livius, lib. 31. cap. 14. ^c Plutarchus in Flaminiis. ^d Polybius, lib. 18. p. 1033. — 1042.

for peace; which was granted him on these terms, "That he should retain the kingdom of Macedonia; but should quit all that he held in Greece, should pay a thousand talents to the Romans, and retain only ten ships by sea." Flaminius being continued for another year in his command with a proconsular power, to make the Romans and himself more popular, and to secure the Grecian cities in the Roman interest, he proclaimed liberty to all of them, whether in Europe or in Asia; to be free of taxes, subsidies, impositions and garrisons; to live after their old laws and in full liberty. This being intimated at the Isthmian, and afterwards at the Nemean games, Plutarch tells us, that there were such acclamations of joy, as crows did fall down from the air by the sound of mens voices. No doubt the favour seemed to be very great; though we shall find that it was afterwards bestowed only as the Romans pleased. Polybius speaks fully of the joyful acclamations, but not of the falling down of the crows. These things being done, Flaminius returned to Rome, where he had the honour of a triumph.

The next war of any moment that the Romans had, was with Antiochus the Great. But I have given the history of this already*, to which I now refer the reader. By their victory over Antiochus the Romans got a great footing in Asia; yea, extended their dominions there as far as the river Halys on the one side, and mount Taurus on the other.

The Romans had now little employment abroad, besides

* Livius, lib. 33 cap. 32.

† Plutarchus in Flaminius.

‡ Polybius, Legat. 9 p. 1105.

§ See Vol. III p. 313.

besides chastising the Ætolians in Greece. They were a people dwelling on the north-west side of the bay of Corinth; who having assisted Flaminius in the war against Philip of Macedon (as has been already^o observed), boasted too much that their forces were the chief cause of the victory^p, and not being pleased with the reward the Romans gave them, endeavoured to bring Antiochus the Great into Europe, and to form a dangerous league against the Roman state, but were sufficiently chastised by Manlius Vulsus, consul, in the year of Rome 564. The same Manlius did also undertake an expedition against the Gallo-Grecians, or Galatians, in Asia, with good success: Only the Asian luxury and idleness was brought to Rome by his army^q. The same year 258, 328, free citizens were entered into the census.

Scipio, the African, about this time was accused before the tribunes of the people, for defrauding the public treasury of the spoils taken in the wars wherein he commanded, and of correspondence with Antiochus the Great. He publicly answered his accusers, saying, "This very day I overcame Hannibal, and therefore it is proper I go to the capitol, and give thanks for the victory; and producing his books of accounts, tore them in pieces before them all." Tiberius Gracchus, one of the tribunes, defended his cause, and the accusation came to nothing. However, after this, he retired from public business, and lived quietly at Linternum^r, a sea-town in Campania. Scipio Asiaticus,

^o See page 146. ^p Plutarch. in Flaminio. ^q Livius, lib. 35. & lib. 38. Polybius, lib. 11. p. 871. & legat. 4. p. 1058. & legat. 18. p. 1156. & legat. 31. — 35. ^r Plutarch. in Scipione Africano.

Asiaticus, his brother, was also accused^f, but came off without punishment. Porcius Cato, the censor, had a chief hand in those accusations^g. He was a man very frugal, both of the public monies and of his own, but neither spared senators nor others in his pleadings. When the Roman state was free of danger abroad, then the fire of contention was oft like to destroy her at home.

For about the space of twelve years, the Romans were employed in wars with their neighbours, the Ligurians and Istrians, the Sardinians and Corsicans; and also with the Celtiberians^h in Spain, all whom they forced into a submission.

§ 12. Then the second Macedonian war came to be a matter of concern to the Roman state. Philip, of whom we have before heard, was yet alive; though he was allowed the name of a king, yet he found he was only a slave to the Romans, who made still one uneasy demand upon him after another; and therefore, as privately as he could, he prepared for war, by laying up arms, provisions, and monies in the best cities, which he had in the heart of his country. But in the latter end of his life, he turned tyrannical in his government. The Greek cities made many complaints of his oppression to the Roman senateⁱ. He put Demetrius, his second son, of most promising parts, to death, upon the false accusation of Perseus, his eldest son. When his eyes were open to see his error in this matter, he was deeply afflicted, and resolved to revenge it on Perseus, but was prevented by death^k. Perseus, his successor, inherited his

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^f Livius, lib. 38.

^g Plutarch in Marco Catone.

^h Livius, lib. 39.

ⁱ Polybii Legat 40 & 45. ^j Livius, lib. 40.

father's malice against the Romans, but had not shoulders to bear the weight of the war they declared against him; though in the beginning thereof he wanted neither men nor money, and had considerable success: For he overthrew Publius Licinius, and after him Hostilius, both consuls. The Romans then began to look for a consul that was fit to manage such a war; and for this end chose Paulus Æmilius. He was the son of Lucius Paulus, the consul, who was killed at Cannæ, and had before this served in several great offices at Rome. When prætor he defeated the Celtiberians in Spain; and, when consul, he overcame the Ligurians². He was sent into Macedon, when sixty years old, in the year of Rome 586, with an army of one hundred thousand men. Perseus, his adversary, had also a very great army of very good soldiers, and abundance of riches to pay them; but had neither heart to bestow money upon his men, nor courage to fight. When he came to the battle at Pydnæ, he fled out of it, shifting from place to place, till he was taken at Samothracia by Cneius Octavius. On the other side Æmilius did every thing proper for a commander in chief, and gained a notable victory; wherein 'tis said there were five and twenty thousand of Perseus's men slain. After the victory, the whole kingdom of Macedon submitted to the Romans. Æmilius made a progress through Greece, where he redressed disorders, and gave gifts; only at Epirus, that state having joined with Perseus, he committed a horrid outrage on them:

² Plutarchus in Paulo Æmilio.

them: For 'tis said by Plutarch^a, "That he made one hundred and fifty thousand persons slaves, and spoiled and sacked threescore and ten cities; out of which he gave his army eleven silver drahms a-piece." However, the soldiers having got little or no plunder in Macedonia, nor any of the king's treasure, which was very great, denied their general a triumph: But he obtained it, and that a splendid one too, such as Rome scarce ever saw before. Perseus himself and his sons were led before the triumphal chariot, and Æmillus, who himself died poor^b, is said to have brought so much silver and gold into the public treasury, that the common people were not obliged to contribute for any thing^c, till the wars of Augustus and Mark Anthony. Rome flourished so much, soon after this, that 337,452 free citizens were entered into the Census^d. Here ends the forty-fifth book of Titus Livius; which is the last of that excellent author transmitted to us, the rest being lost. And thus the kingdom of Macedon ended; and the glory thereof, that sometimes had filled all the parts of the then known world, was carried to Rome, 156 years after the death of Alexander the Great, in the year of the world 3785, before the birth of Christ 165. The third Macedonian war was rather like the insurrection of an impostor, called Andriscus. It was quelled by Metellus, the consul^e; and for so doing he obtained a triumph.

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§ 13 These

^a Plutarchus in Paulo Æmilio, p. m. 260.

^b Polybius de virtutibus & vitiis, p. 1454.

^c Plutarchus in Æmilio, prope finem.

^d Ibid.

^e Florus, lib. 2. cap. 14. Epit. Livii, lib. 49, 50.

§. 13. These commotions being finished, the Romans found a pretence to begin the third Carthaginian war, because that city was in arms against Masinissa, a Roman ally. Marcus Cato being sent with some other ambassadors, to enquire into the state of the controversy, he found Carthage, after fifty years peace, rich and flourishing, full of lusty men, and their stores well provided for wars^f: And therefore, upon his return, he urged that Carthage must be ruined: In which affair he was so warm, as he concluded all his speeches with *delenda est Carthago*; and was often answered by Scipio Nasica, who alledged, That upon the removal of so powerful a rival, security would cause the ruin and dissolution of the Roman commonwealth. But Cato prevailed; and the senate ordered a war to be proclaimed against the Carthaginians, and sent the consuls to prosecute the same; even tho' Carthage offered any terms to please the Romans, as the curious may find their case very pathetically represented by Appian^g. Nevertheless the consuls told them, "They must not dispute on terms, but must entirely abandon their city; which they had special orders to level with the ground, and might build in any other place of their own territories, providing it were ten miles from the sea. This the Carthaginians declined to do, and would rather suffer any extremity than leave their ancient habitation to utter ruin. They chose Asdrubal for their general, and were so keen in their own defence; that, as Florus tells us^h, "They pulled down their wooden houses

^f Plutarchus in M. Catone, prope finem. ^g Appian. in Puniceis 62, — 94. ^h Florus, lib. 2. cap. 15.

houses for the use of their fleet; and where brass and iron was wanting, made use of gold and silver; and even the women gave the hair of their heads to serve for row and flax."

The consuls found such vigorous resistance, as gave them enough ado, and were like to be great losers, had not Scipio, called afterwards Africanus Junior, drawn Pharnaces, master of the Carthaginian horse, unto his side. Masinissa, who had occasioned the war, died when ninety years old, leaving his son to Scipio's protection; and Cato, who had prompted the Roman senate to it, died in the eighty-fifth year of his age, both in the second year of the war, before they had seen what they had begun finished. Next year, being from the building of Rome 606, Scipio the son of Paulus Æmilius, was created consul. Polybius, who seems to have been present in the war, and of whose history concerning it we have some fragments¹, doth frequently highly commend Scipio². He restored the discipline of the army, and soon took that part of Carthage called Megara, driving the inhabitants into the citadel called Byrsa. Then securing the Isthmus, which led into the city, he cut off all provisions from the country, and blocked up the haven: But the besieged, with incredible industry, cut out a new passage into the sea; whereby at certain times they received necessaries by the help of the army without the walls. Scipio then in the beginning of the winter set upon their forces in the field, and defeated them, killing 70000¹ and taking 10000 prisoners, cutting off

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¹ Polybins, lib. 10. p. 802,—830
virtutibus, p. 1455,—1465.

² Polyb. in lib. 10, 11, 14. & de
¹ Polybius, lib. 10. p. 802,—830.

all their communication with the sea, so as the besieged could have no relief, and were in a despairing condition. In the next spring he took the forum, where was a miserable spectacle of slaughtered people. Still the citadel held out: But an offer being made that all who would come out to the Romans, should have their lives, fifty thousand yielded, and among these Asdrubal himself. The remainder finding their condition desperate, fled to the temple of *Æsculapius*^m, which was so large, as 50000 people concealed themselves there seven daysⁿ, and at last they set fire to it, and burnt themselves with it, even Asdrubal's wife threw herself with two children into the flames. Then was this magnificent city of Carthage that had been renowned in the world for seven hundred years, and rival to Rome one hundred years, altogether laid in ashes. It was twenty-four miles in compass, and so large, that the burning continued seventeen days together. And all this was done for no other cause, as *Orosius*^o long ago observed, but to destroy the memory of a place that had been so long a competitor to Rome. The news were received by the Roman senate with great joy, Carthage was ordered to be utterly destroyed, and curses denounced against them who should ever rebuild it. The cities who had joined with it had the same fate; and their lands were given to the friends of the Roman people. Thus this war ended in the fourth year after it began, 608 years after the building of Rome. If we had any Carthaginian

^m *Orosius*, lib. 4. cap. 22, 23. *Appian*. in *Punicis*, p. 119. *Epit. Livii*, lib. 49, 50, 51. ⁿ Vide *Bochartum* in *Chanaan*, lib. 1. cap. 24. p. m. 513.

^o *Orosius* loco citato.

Carthaginian author extant, perhaps we might have other valuable particulars concerning their affairs: But these are all lost.

§ 14. Carthage was not the only city that was thus ruined by the Romans: In the same year Corinth had the same fate. The Achæans, having affronted the Roman ambassadors sent to dissolve their confederacy, and having joined against the Lacedæmonians, who were allies to Rome; for these reasons the Roman senate decreed war against the Achæans; which Metellus, then in Macedonia, undertook to manage. He overthrew Critolaus, took Thebes and Megara; and L. Mummius the consul succeeded him in his province. This Mummius overcame Diæus the Achæan general^p, and then entered Corinth, where the ambassadors had been affronted; and there, by order of the senate, first plundered that rich city, which had been like a shop for all kind of tradesmen, and the resort of merchants from both Europe and Asia, and ordered, by sound of trumpet, that the whole city should be burnt to the ground, and utterly destroyed; which was accordingly done. Mummius brought many fine things from the ruin of this place to Rome, and had a splendid triumph, with the surname of Achaicus, because he had reduced those parts, with all Greece and Epirus, into the form of a Roman province, called afterwards by the general name of Achaia.

Numantia had the like fate. It was now seventy-four years since the Romans entered Spain

in

^p Livii Epitome, lib. 51. Florus, lib. 2. cap. 16. Orosius, lib. 5. cap. 3. See Vol. III. p. 406.

in an hostile manner, where they had many wars to deprive that people of their liberty. About this time Viriatus was up in arms. From a shepherd he became a robber, and from a robber he became a general over a numerous party such as himself, which created the Romans a great deal of trouble for several years, he having defeated several of their best officers. But the most difficult and dangerous part of the war was at Numantia⁹, a town of no great bulk; for it contained about eight thousand fighting men: But these were of so great valour, that they defeated Q. Pompeius the consul, and also his successor Mancianus, forcing him to make a dishonourable treaty with them; which the Romans found a pretence to break, and to deliver up Mancianus naked and bound at their gates; whom the Numantines would not receive. Orosius¹⁰ justly observes, "That this was unfair dealing in the Romans, to break a league which their consul, by the circumstances he was then in, had been obliged to conclude, and to deliver up himself to an infamous punishment." After this Brutus defeated many thousands of the Lusitanians, and overthrew the Gallecians. But Lepidus the præconsul was not so successful: For setting upon the Vaccæi, an harmless and quiet people in the hithermost part of Spain, he was entirely defeated by them. These misfortunes terrified the Roman soldiers, and obliged the senate and people to create Scipio Africanus, junior, who had ruined Carthage, consul a second time, in the year of Rome 619, looking upon

⁹ Appian in *Hispanicis*, p. 305, — 315.
cap. 4 p. m. 370.

¹⁰ *Adversus Paganos*, lib. 3.

upon him as the hope and bulwark of their country. Scipio restored military discipline; but coming to engage, he found the courage of the Numantines so extraordinary, that he resolved only to lay a close siege to their city. At last the besieged were so straitened, that they offered to yield upon any reasonable terms, or to fight if they might be allowed a battle, notwithstanding the inequality of their numbers. But neither of these being granted they drank heartily strong liquors, and attacked the besiegers with such fury, that the Romans had fled, if any other than Scipio had commanded them. The besieged, finding there was no way to escape being made prisoners, and led as a trophy before their conqueror's chariot, fired the city over their own heads, scarce a man, or not fifty, says Appian^c, remaining to be led in triumph. This madness of the Numantines, Florus^e in my opinion very foolishly commends and approves; but I rather incline to cry out with Orosius^d, "Why do you Romans falsely claim to yourselves the great names of justice, faith, fortitude and mercy, when your actions declare the contrary?" The barbarities they committed on Carthage, Corinth, and Numantia, where they were pleased with no less than the entire destruction of those once flourishing cities and their inhabitants, deserves such a censure. However, Scipio razed Numantia to the ground, in the year of Rome 620, after a siege of fifteen months

^c In Hispania, p 532. Florus, lib. 2. cap. 17. 18. Patereculus, lib. 2. cap. 4. Livii Epitome, lib. 52, 54. ^d Lib. 2. cap. 18. Maeste fortissimam, & meo judicio, in ipsa malis beatissimam civitatem! ^e Lib. 5. cap. 5. ab initio.

months. The ruins of the place are still to be seen in Old Castile*, not far from the borders of Aragon, about a league from Soria.

§ 15. The Roman republic had by this time extended her conquests over many parts of the world: In Europe, the whole of Italy, Spain, Illyria to the Danube, Thracia, Macedonia, Greece; in Africa, the whole coast of Libya; and, in Asia, all the provinces of Asia the Lesser submitted to her dominion. The luxury, as well as the spoils of the east, were carried to Rome; the manners of the citizens changed with their fortune†: The profits of the great officers of the commonwealth increased with her bounds, and this made more briguing and soliciting for these posts; yea, seditions, jealousies, and contentions rose about them, even sometimes to the shedding of blood. A remarkable instance whereof we have while Tiberius Gracchus was tribune of the people. His father Sempronius Gracchus had been consul, and had enjoyed the honour of two triumphs. His mother Cornelia, was the daughter of Scipio Africanus the elder, who overcame Hannibal, and was herself eminent for chastity and learning. Tiberius himself was a man of rare parts and admirable eloquence‡, but so fond of popular applause, that he forsook the nobility, and took part with the common people, reviving the Agrarian laws, whereby any citizen was forbid to possess above five hundred Jugera, that is, about three hundred and thirty acres of land§, and adding to the Lex Licinia, “That if any had more than the law allowed,

* Historical Dictionary on the word Numantia.

cap. 1. † Ibid. cap. 2. ‡ See p 111.

§ Paternus, lib. 2.

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lowed, it should be divided among the poor;" and triumvirs, or three judges, were appointed to see this executed. These things so exasperated the senators, that they rose against Tiberius, and killed him in the capitol, with about three hundred of the commons with him: And this was the first civil insurrection among the Romans, that ended with the effusion of blood^b. These confusions were not finished by the death of Tiberius Gracchus: His brother Caius being chosen tribune of the people, two years successively pursued the same measures, preferring new laws; which, though they gratified the commons, yet the senators reckoned themselves injured by them: And therefore Opimius the consul raised a tumult against Caius; who finding his own party too weak, fled, and made his own servant to kill him; who thereafter killed himself, falling down dead upon his master's body: Yea, the severity of the consul was so great, that no less than three thousand of Gracchus's faction were put to death, being the year of Rome 632. About the same time there happened a dreadful pestilence, that destroyed near two hundred thousand people on the Mediterranean coast of Afric^c, the plague arising from an immense multitude of locusts, that destroyed the country, and then were killed. 390,396 citizens were entered into the Roman census.

§ 16. For some time the Romans had no considerable action abroad, till the war occasioned by Jugurtha arose. To understand what he was, we may observe, that Massinissa, whom the Romans

^b Plutarch in Gracchis. Vel Paternulus, lib. 2. cap. 3. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 606,—623. ^c Orosius, lib. 5. cap. 11. Livii Epitome, lib. 60.

mans had made king of Numidia, because he had been their firm friend in their wars against the Carthaginians, had a successor called Micipsa, and two other sons, Mastiba and Gulassa, by one of his concubines. The former of these was the father of Jugurtha. He had his education in the court of his uncle Micipsa; where upon several occasions he gave signal proofs of his wit and valour, as also when he served under Scipio Africanus the younger, at the siege of Numantia^d. That war being ended, he was sent home; And Micipsa dying, left his sons, Adherbal and Heimpfal, under the guardianship of this Jugurtha; who, after he had caused the younger of them to be put to death, pursued the elder, till he fled to Rome, and there sought for help. Jugurtha being sensible how much avarice and injustice had crept into the city, sent his ambassadors well instructed with rich presents; which did so operate upon the senate, that they decreed to give him the half of the kingdom, and sent commissioners to divide it between him and Adherbal. But he being still restless, fell suddenly upon Adherbal, routed and besieged him in Cirta for the space of several months; and upon the surrender of that city, having got him into his hands, contrary to his faith and promise, put him to a violent death. Whereupon a war was determined against him, and the conduct thereof committed to L. Calpurnius Bestia consul, in the year of Rome 642. He invaded Numidia with great vigour; but was stopped in his career by the golden weapons sent by

^d Sallustii Bellum Jugurthinum.

by Jugurtha. Scaurus the quaestor being corrupted by the same means, a treaty of peace was set on foot. These things making great noise in the city, the people got Cassius Longinus the praetor sent to Africa, with orders to bring Jugurtha to Rome upon the public faith of the state, which he did. But the usurper so cunningly managed his affairs, that when he left the city, he declared^e "That Rome was to be sold, and any body that would go to the price, might have her." Nevertheless Q. Cæcilius Metellus being consul in the year of Rome 644, Jugurtha was defeated. Caius Marius was then lieutenant to the Roman army. He was a person of mean birth and of a rough temper^f; but of great frugality, cunning and experience in war, in which he was trained under Scipio Africanus the younger, at the siege of Numantia. Being very desirous to gain the consulship, he blamed Metellus for prolonging the war, saying, "He might with the half of his army have taken Jugurtha prisoner; and having got leave to go to Rome, he there obtained the consulship, in the year of the city 646, and had the management of this affair committed to him. This being done, he overcame Jugurtha in battle, and prevailed with Bocchus king of Mauritania, his father-in-law, to deliver him bound hands and feet to Sylla; who gave him to Marius, when consul the second time^g, in the year of Rome 649, by whom he was brought to the city, and there led as an ornament to the consul's triumph, with great riches and spoils got in the war^h. When the

^e Livii Epitome, lib. 64. ^f Plutarch. in Mario. ^g Ibid. ^h Ibid.

the triumph was over, Jugurtha was cast into a nasty prison, almost naked, where he ended his life in the space of six days. Pliny¹ tells us, that Marius, in his second consulate, first made the eagle to be the ensign of the Roman legions.

§ 17. The Jugurthine war was scarce ended, when a more dangerous one, called the Cimbric and Teutonic, arose. A great band of people from the Cimbrian Chersonesus, now called Denmark, and from the northern parts of Germany, broke in upon the Roman empire. Plutarch² calls their number three hundred thousand fighting men well armed, and with them a great number of women and children. They had already defeated some Roman legions¹. C. Marius being thought a proper man to conduct the war against them, he was to this end chosen consul a third time; and next year, being that of Rome 651, he was made consul a fourth time. He led the army over the Alps, and fortified his camp near the river Rhone, observing strict discipline. He cleared the mouth of the river, for bringing in vessels with provisions, and there waited for the approach of the enemy, and a proper time to fight them; which he found near the city Aix. The Romans being afflicted with thirst, found that the Teutons and Ambruns lay between them and the river; necessity then compelling them to engage, they fought with the enemies two days successively, wherein they destroyed above a hundred thousand of them. The general raised a pyramid in memory of this victory, the remains whereof are still

¹ Nat. hist. lib. 8 cap. 4. ² Plutarch in Mario. Florus, lib. 1. cap. 3.
¹ Livii Epitome, lib. 67.

still to be seen on the road to Aix^m. Marius being chosen consul a fifth time, and joining with Catulus, was challenged by the enemy to battle. Whereupon he fell upon their numerous army, July 27thⁿ, and gave them a dreadful overthrow, their wives all the while making a wonderful resistance from the waggon and carriages. But when they saw all things in a desperate condition, they in a great fury first killed their children, and then themselves. About sixscore thousand are said to have been slain in the battle, and as many taken prisoners, which ended the war; and Marius obtained a sixth consulate in the year of Rome 653. He was not so steady, calm, and prudent in his government in the time of peace, as successful in the camp; and hence several disorders were committed in this year of his magistracy. Apuleius Saturninus, one of his friends, standing for one of the tribunes of the people, and being chosen, murdered Nonius, his competitor. Being in power, he preferred a law for the division of those lands which Marius had conquered in Gaul, and compelled the senate to swear to it: Which oath Metellus Numidicus (who had been consul, and very successful in the Jugurthine war) refusing, he set him a day to answer before the people; but, to prevent further confusion, Metellus retired to Rhodes^o, and there spent his time in reading books, and in hearing the great teachers of that age; and Marius, the author of all this disorder, caused him to be declared a rebel to the state. The same Saturninus obtaining the tribuneship a second

^m Great Historical Dictionary, on the word Marius.

ⁿ Plutarch, in Mario.

^o Livii Epitome, lib. 69.

cond time, and finding Metimius a candidate for the consulate, he also got him murdered, to make way for Glaucias, one of his own party. These base practices raised commotions in the city, and the senate resolved to make Saturninus to answer for them. Whereupon Marius, a changeable man, withdrew his friendship, and even set upon him in the public assembly, and forced him with his followers into the capitol; where, for want of water, they were obliged to yield. And though Saturninus and Glaucias depended upon Marius, and would not discover that they were only actors in his designs; yet, by his connivance, they were cut to pieces by the equites in the forum, and Metellus recalled with the general applause of the people.

§ 18. But that which in end ruined Marius, and caused innumerable murders and mischiefs in the Roman state, was the emulation between him and L. Cornelius Sylla. This Sylla was a patrician of noble birth, who made himself more eminent by his actions, a man of letters, having writ twenty-two books of commentaries on the history of his own life and actions, mentioned by Plutarch^p, but now lost; a beautiful and comely person, but much given to his lusts and pleasures, and did not stick at cruel actions when they served to advance his purposes. He had served as quaestor under Marius in the Jugurthine war, and had the command of a thousand men in his third consulship; but upon some disgust or other, he never served under Marius any more.

At

^p In Sylla.

At this time Mithridates Eupator, king of Pontus, appeared upon the stage^a, as a dangerous enemy to the Roman state; for he was a prince of great knowledge and learning, mighty in riches and power, of boundless ambition, and a former of vast designs. He procured Tigranes, king of Armenia, to join with him, and had taken from the Romans and their allies Asia the Lesser, with Bithynia, Cappadocia and Pergamus^b; had made several inroads into Greece, and, which was very provoking, had taken Q. Oppius and Aquilius, and killed the latter by pouring melted gold down his throat, upbraiding the Romans with avarice and ambition. Upon all these accounts, the Roman senate proclaimed war against him, which continued many years. L. Sylla and Q. Pompeius being chosen consuls in the year of Rome 665, the former, being then fifty years old, was sent against Mithridates. But C. Marius, being stirred up, either by the desire of profit or honour, persuaded Sulpitius, one of the tribunes of the people, to prefer a law, transferring the management of the war from Sylla to himself. This was carried on with great strength of parties, tumults and bloodshed^c. Sylla hearing of these commotions, hastened to the city with six legions, whom he easily persuaded to stand by him, having been very liberal to them. With these, after some bloodshed, he entered the city; where he caused some houses to be set on fire, but did no other hurt to the citizens in general; only he and his colleague reversed the laws of Sulpitius, regulated the senate,

^a See page 18. ^b Plutarch, in Sylla. ^c Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 648, — 655.

nate, and got Marius and Sulpitius, with ten other leading men, to be declared enemies to their country, making it lawful for any person to kill them, and to put their goods to open sale. Marius with his accomplices were forced to betake themselves to flight. He hid himself in the fens of Minturnum, and got so deep into a marish, that only his eyes and nose were seen above the water¹; where being discovered, and put in prison, a Gaul, who was sent to kill him, became so astonished at the nobleness of his presence, that he could not execute his orders. Whereupon Marius, being conveyed out of that place, escaped to Afric, and there passed through a thousand hardships in his old age, particularly described by Plutarch². Sulpitius, the tribune, was taken and killed: And Sylla returned to prosecute the war against Mithridates.

About this time there were abundance of confusions at Rome, and over all Italy: The commonwealth was bought and sold. The farmers of the revenues were both judges and parties. Livius Drusus, a tribune, gave the people of Italy hopes of making them free Roman citizens. By their assistance he renewed the Agrarian laws, and ordered that a proportional number of knights, or equites, should be added to the senate. But he not being able to perform his promises to the allies of the Romans in Italy, they conspired to assert their privileges another way: And Drusus, being hated by the senate, was killed³ in his own house. Upon his death arose the Social, or Italian war. The several states of Italy, that were subject to and

¹ V. Paterculus, lib. 2 cap. 19. ² In Mario. ³ Livii Epitome, lib. 71. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 229, & seqq.

and allied with the Romans, taking it in ill part that they were denied the freedom of the city, after it had been so oft promised to them; especially since they maintained the commonwealth by their valour, sending almost, in every war, double the number of troops to what Rome itself did afford: Therefore the Lucanians, Apulians, Marfians, Pelignians, Samnites, and others entered into a confederacy to assert their privilege by arms. Their design being discovered, they broke out into open rebellion. The war continued three years, and was very dangerous and destructive. Florus ^y says, "It brought on greater calamities than either the wars of Hannibal or Pyrrhus:" But this I dare not affirm. However at last the senate thought fit to give the freedom of the city to such of the Italians as had not revolted, which established those who were something wavering in their minds, abated the courage of others who were already engaged, and in a little time induced the Romans to give all the rest the same privilege. Thus the Social war ended, after, as Paterculus ^z says, it had consumed three hundred thousand of the youth of Italy, and had been managed by the greatest men in Rome, as Cn. Pompeius, the father of Pompey the Great, C. Marius, L. Sylla, and Q. Metellus Pius.

§ 19. The calamities of Rome, by the cruel emulation of Marius and Sylla, were but yet beginning. Cornelius Cinna, and Cn. Octavius being consuls in the year of Rome 666, Cinna recalled Marius with the rest of the exiles; which was

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^y Florus, lib. 3. cap. 18.

^z Lib. 2. cap. 15.

so violently opposed by his colleague, that Cinna was by force driven out of the city, and Merula put in his place. Marius having escaped many hardships and dangers in Afric, and being informed of this situation of affairs at Rome, got together about a thousand vagabonds, with whom he landed at Telamon in Etruria, where he proclaimed liberty to all slaves and bondmen that would come to him^a, and then sent to Cinna, signifying that he would obey him as consul. This offer being accepted, they took Ostia, putting the inhabitants to the sword, shut up Rome, and seized the hill Janiculum, through Octavius's neglect. In these circumstances, the senate invited them into the city, only desiring that they would shed no blood; to which Marius gave no encouraging answer, but only stern looks and glooming brows. Upon their entrance to Rome, these banished princes soon verified the proverb^b, by filling the city with blood. Octavius, the consul, refusing to resign his charge, had his head cut off, and set up on the rostra. Marius having got the law for his banishment abrogated, shewed his resentment by horrid cruelties: For he had a company of ruffians, called Bardilæans, waiting upon him, who, at the least nod of his head, or twinkling of his eye, killed as many men as he pleased. They slew Ancharius, a senator, who had been prætor, only because he did not salute their master, and continued killing all those he did not salute^c; and he himself

^a Plutarch. in Mario. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 655. 664.

^b ——— Regnabit sanguine multo, Quisquis ab exilio venit in imperium.
In English, When banished princes do return to reign,

With impious blood they will their kingdom stain.

^c Plutarch. in Mario.

self spared none whom he in the least suspected. M. Anthony, the orator, after he had defended himself by a fine speech, was killed. The dead bodies were torn and abused, none daring to bury them. All the friends of Sylla were slaughtered without mercy, his house demolished, his goods set to sale, and himself declared an enemy to Rome. Marius, though now past the seventieth year of his age, had the ambition to procure himself to be elected consul the seventh time, with Cinna for his colleague, in the year of Rome 667. But, upon hearing of Sylla's coming with an army from the east, to be revenged on him for the mischief he had done, he took sickness, and died soon after his election, being as much abhorred for his fraudulent conduct and abominable cruelty in peace, as he was esteemed for his success in war: For the commonwealth, which he preserved in the field of battle^d, he destroyed at home, first by fraud, and then by barbarous executions as a cruel enemy.

Sylla at this time was in the east, carrying on the war against Mithridates; who, not long before his arrival, had commanded in one day eighty thousand, or, as some authors say, an hundred and fifty thousand^e Romans and Italians, then dwelling in Asia, to be murdered in cold blood. Upon the arrival of Sylla, the most part of the cities of Greece submitted to him; only Athens, being compelled by the tyrant Aristion to join with Mithridates, made a vigorous resistance^f: And therefore he besieged it with all his might, cutting down even the trees of the Lycæum and

M 3

academy,

^d Livii Epitome, lib. 80. daticis, p. m. 317.—319.

^e Plutarchus in Sylla. Appianus in Mithridaticis, p. m. 47, 48.

^f Pausanias in Atticis, p. m. 47, 48.

academy, to serve for his engines of battery, and compelling the priests in all the temples of Greece to send him their sacred money, which no Roman before this had ever meddled with. But Sylla gave so great donatives to his soldiers as required mountains of money; which, though it brought in a bad custom into the Roman armies afterwards, yet in the mean-time it made his men very steady to his interests, and never to dispute his commands. Athens held out for seven months, even to the last extremity, being reduced to the greatest of straits by famine. In fine, Sylla having made a great breach in the walls, entered the city at midnight; where he cut off the bulk of the inhabitants by the sword, gave the spoil to his army, levelled the harbour of Piræus, and burnt the greater part of the buildings, among which was the arsenal and armoury. This being done, he marched against the armies of Mithridates, which were very great: For 'tis said that he had sent into Greece, under the command of Archelaus, an hundred and twenty thousand men¹, and under the command of Taxiles, another of his generals, an hundred and ten thousand, and after that eighty thousand, under the command of Dorylaus; numbers enough to have carried all before him, if numbers would have done it. Yet Sylla, with a Roman army only of fifteen hundred horse and fifteen thousand foot, overcame them all in three several battles; the first of which was fought at Cheronæa, and the other two at Orchomene, wherein he is said to have slain an hundred and sixty

¹ Plutarchus in Sylla. Appianus in Mithridaticis, p. 334.—347. Florus, lib. 3. cap. 5. Epitome Livii, lib. 81.—83. Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 2.

sixty thousand men. In the last of these conflicts, twenty thousand were pushed into a marish, and there killed, imploring Sylla's pity, who shewed none; as many were destroyed in a river, many by other means, and the whole forced to fly out of Greece. The next year Mithridates was as much distressed in Asia: For Fimbria, who there commanded another Roman army^b, having vanquished the best remainder of his forces, pursued those that fled as far as Pergamus, where Mithridates himself then resided; and having driven him from thence to Patana, a maritime city of Ætolia, followed him thither, and laying siege to the place, blocked it up closely by land; but not having ships to shut it up by sea, a passage lay open. Whereon Fimbria sent to Lucullus, who was then in the neighbouring seas with a Roman fleet, to enclose him; and had he done so, Mithridates must have been taken. But Fimbria being of Marius's faction, Lucullus would have nothing to do with him, and so Mithridates escaped, to the great prejudice of the Roman interest, as we shall afterwards hear. The like often happens when ministers and officers of the government are divided into different factions. But though Mithridates thus made his escape, this conduced to putting an end to the war: For being terrified with the danger he had so narrowly got clear of, and with the many losses he had suffered, he sent orders to Archelaus, then in Greece, on any terms to make peace with Sylla. Whereupon Sylla and Archelaus meeting in the isle Delos, agreed^c, "That Mithridates

^b Plutarchus in Lucullo. ^c Ibid in Sylla. Appianus in Mithridaticis, p. 348.

Mithridates should depart from Asia the Lesser, and from Paphlagonia: That he should restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes: That he should give back all places to the Romans which he had taken from them since the war began: That he should pay twenty thousand talents to the Romans for the charges of the war, and yield to them seventy of his ships: And upon these terms peace should be granted, and all acts of hostility being forgotten, Mithridates should be received into the number of the friends and allies of the Roman state."

Sylla and Mithridates having afterwards had a meeting at Troas in Asia, there ratified these articles, upon which peace was published and declared. Sylla would not have consented to so easy terms, had not the divisions of the Romans at home obliged him to return, which many of the Roman senators, who had fled to his camp from the faction of Marius, earnestly entreated him to do. In his way to Rome, he was initiated in the heathen mysteries at Athens, where he seized the library of Apellico the Teian, in which were the most part of Aristotle and Theophrastus's works^{*}; and carrying it to Rome, added it to his own library. One Tyrannion, a famous grammarian of these times, residing at Rome, obtained leave of Sylla's library keeper to write them out. This copy he communicated to Andronicus Rhodius, who made the works of Aristotle public; and to him the learned world¹ is obliged for the valuable writings of that philosopher.

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^{*} Plutarch. in Syll. Suidas in voce *Τυραννίων*. ¹ See Prideaux's Connect. Vol. 2 p 392.

The Roman senate dreaded the effects of Sylla's return, and therefore offered their endeavours for his satisfaction. But he returned for answer, "That he would never be reconciled to such wicked persons as Cinna and Carbo. Having landed at Brundisium with a fleet of 1600 ships, and 60,000 men; and being joined by Metellus Pius, and Pompey, afterwards called the Great, he defeated the consul Norbanus, killing 6000 of his men, and making himself to flee to Capua for refuge*. Next year he defeated the younger Marius, killing 20,000 of his men, taking 8000 prisoners, and making himself flee to Præneste^m, where he became his own executioner. Carbo fled to Africa, and Pompey pursued him. At length Sylla having defeated his enemies in the field, entered Rome by the gate Collina, fighting his way against Carinus and Marcius. The Romans then found, that though they had changed the tyrant, the tyranny was greater than before: For while Sylla held a council in the temple of Bellona, 6000 men were killed by his order in the place where they used to run their horses, and many thousands were butchered in a most inhuman manner. Men were slain in the embraces of their wives, and children in the arms of their parents. When one asked him, "When shall these miseries end? Who are they that shall die?" Sylla immediately posted up the names of eighty persons whom he would have put to death. Next day he set up two hundred and twenty, and the third day the double of that number: Besides he published tables

* Ann. U. C. 670. Ant. C. 83.

^m Plutarch. in Sylla. Appian de bellis civilibus, lib. i. p. 670, — 693.

bles of proscription against particular persons, which were the first of that kind that were ever known at Rome. Of these outlawed persons, some were killed in their houses, some in the streets, others when begging mercy at his feet. Their goods were confiscated, and their names declared infamous. Nor was this wickedness and inhumanity only done at Rome, but was also extended to several towns in Italy, 12,000 men being shut up in Præneste, and all put to the sword. Neither the temples of the gods, nor any sanctuary could afford protection. This was inhuman cruelty! yea, scarce ever the like was heard of among heathens to their own country. After all, Sylla had a noble triumph for his victories over Mithridates: And then he ordered the senate to create an Inter-*rex* (both the consuls being destroyed) and they chose Valerius Flaccus for this trust. Then he desired a dictator to be made, till the public grievances were redressed. This office was conferred on himself, without any limitation of time, after it had been interrupted 120 years; for the senate durst not refuse any of his commands. When he had exercised this office three years, he resigned the same, and retired to Cumæ, where he died of a nasty lousy disease. If he deserves to be praised for his victories, he ought to be as much hated for his cruelties. His death happened in the year from the building of Rome 678, from the creation of the world 3875, and before the birth of Christ 75 years.

Upon Sylla's departure for Italy, Murena, whom he

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he left in the government of Asia^a renewed the war against Mithridates, without a sufficient cause: However he carried it on three years. At the end whereof, Sylla being then dictator, and disliking the proceedings of Murena, recalled him, and resettled with Mithridates the same articles of peace which he had before made with him^b. Thus ended the second Mithridatic war, and Murena, on his return, triumphed^c for his exploits in it.

§ 20. The war with Sertorius in Spain, was a legacy of the proscriptions enacted by Sylla^d. Sertorius himself had been trained up in the camp from his youth, having served in several stations, in the Cimbric, Teutonic, and several other wars in which the Romans were engaged. He joined the party of Marius and Cinna, though he always abhorred the murders of Roman citizens which they committed. Upon Sylla's return, and entering the city, he made his escape into Spain, where he gained the affections of the people, and gathered a small force^e thinking this would be a refuge to those of his party that should be banished out of their country. Besides his great skill in warlike affairs, he was very chaste and temperate, and accounted by his own people very religious, having always a white hind about him; which he pretended to be Diana, advising him in all his undertakings. Being chosen commander in chief by the Lusitanians, he with about 7200 men according to Plutarch^f, defeated the best captains that Rome could

^a Cicero in Oratione pro lege Manilia. ^b Appian. in Mithridaticis. ^c Plutarch in Sylla, Livii Epit lib 86. ^d Cicero pro Murena. ^e Florus, lib 3 cap. 22. ^f Plutarch. in Sertorio. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 384. & de Bellis civilibus, lib 1 p. 696, — 702. ^g In Sertorio.

could send against him, who had the conduct of six-score thousand foot, besides archers and slingers: For he overcame Cotta, and Aufidius, governor of Hispanica Betica, and Lucius Domitius, proconsul, in the other province of Spain. His army afterwards encreasing, he defeated Toranius, one of Metellus's lieutenants, and distressed Metellus himself. At last, after he had several times valiantly resisted Pompey called the Great, he was treacherously murdered at supper, in a conspiracy carried on by Perpenna, one of his own party. Perpenna did not long enjoy any benefit by this treachery; for he was overcome and taken prisoner by Pompey: And though he delivered up the letters sent by many noble Romans, inviting Sertorius to come into Italy with his army, Pompey first burnt the letters, and then put Perpenna to death. For this victory, Pompey triumphed, when he was not twenty-six years of age complete.

§ 21. Having now given a compendious account of the affairs of Rome, from the building of that city to the time of Pompey, I proceed to where I left off in the former chapter of this work, with the history of the Jews under the Roman empire; where I shall not forget the affairs of the Romans, and of some other nations before the birth of Christ, and particularly in Egypt, till that kingdom was made a province of the Roman empire by the emperor Augustus.

Near the end of the former chapter^u, we left Lathyrus reigning in Egypt, and shall now go on with him. He having for three years laid siege to

^u See page 32.

to Thebes in the Upper Egypt, at length took the place. They had rebelled against him^{*}; and being beaten out of the field, they were shut up within their walls^{*}, and there forced to bear the siege, till they were now again reduced. Lathyrus on taking the place, handled it severely for this rebellion; so as from being the wealthiest city of Egypt, he reduced it to so low a condition, that it never after made any figure. And not long after this he died, having reigned from the death of his father thirty-six years, of which he reigned eleven with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt, after his mother's death. He was succeeded by Cleopatra his daughter, and only legitimate child. Her proper name was Berenice; so Pausanias calls her[†]. For it is to be observed, that as all the males of this family had the common name of Ptolemy, so all the females of it had that of Cleopatra, and besides, had other proper names to distinguish them from each other, which may remove several difficulties in the Egyptian history. Alexander, the son of that Alexander king of Egypt, who murdered his mother, being sent into Egypt by Sylla[‡], to succeed in the kingdom after the death of Lathyrus his uncle, as next heir to him of the male line, claimed the crown. But the Alexandrians having put Cleopatra on the throne, six months before his arrival, to avoid displeasing Sylla, who at this time, as perpetual dictator, absolutely governed the Roman state, agreed that she

^{*} Pausanias in Atticis, p. m. 21. [†] Ant. C. 87 Al. Jan 25 [‡] Idem in Atticis, p. 22. in edit Lipsiz: 1696, quator. [§] Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 690.

she should be given to him to wife, and that they should both reign jointly together. But Alexander either not liking the lady, or not being pleased with a partner in the government, at the end of nineteen days after the marriage, put her to death, and then reigned alone fifteen years. This Alexander had been sent by Cleopatra his grandmother to Coos, there to be educated, and Mithridates took him, with all his treasure which his grandmother sent with him. But he having made his escape from Mithridates, fled to Sylla, who received him into his protection, carrying him with him to Rome; and from thence sent him to take possession of Egypt, expecting advantage by so doing.

In Judea Alexander Jannæus, though he was still afflicted with the quartan ague^a, yet hoping by stirring and exercise to wear it off, marched with his army over Jordan, and besieged Ragaba a castle in the country of the Gerasens^b; but by labouring herein, having instead of alleviating his disease, exasperated it to a greater height, he died of it in the camp. At his death he left two sons behind him, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, but bequeathed the government of the kingdom to Alexandra his wife during her life, and afterwards to which of these two sons she should think fit to dispose it. Alexandra being with him at the siege, on her finding him in a dying condition, was exceedingly troubled. She knew how much he had exasperated the Pharisees, then a powerful sect among the Jews: And therefore saw nothing

^a See p. 51. ^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 12, 24. De Bello Jud. lib. 1. c. p. 4 * Ant. C. 79. Al. Jan. 27.

nothing she had to expect at her husband's death, but that, to wreck their revenge on him, they would fall upon her and his children, and destroy the whole family: And on this subject she made great lamentations as she sat by his bed-side. To ease her mind, he gave her the following directions, which he assured her would yield tranquility to her and her family. His advice was, "That she should conceal his death till the castle should be taken, and then lead back the army to Jerusalem in triumph for this success, carrying thither his dead corps; and as soon as she should arrive there, she should call together the chief of the Pharisees, and acquainting them of her husband's death, should lay the corps before them, and tell them, that she resigned it wholly to their pleasure, either to be cast forth with ignominy, in revenge of what they had suffered by him, or otherwise to be disposed of as they should think fit: And that then she should promise that she would follow their advice in all matters of the government, and do nothing but what should be agreeable to their sentiments and directions. Follow this advice, (said he) and you shall not only gain me an honourable funeral, but also both for you and your children a safe settlement in the government." And so it happened: For on taking the castle, she returned to Jerusalem, and did as her husband had directed. Her promises sweetened the Pharisees to such a degree, that laying aside all that hatred to the dead king, which they had to the utmost contracted, they turned it into veneration for his memory, commending him for his great exploits, in enlarging the dominions, and increasing the power,

power, honour, and interest of the nation; whereby they so far reconciled the people to him, that he was buried with a more sumptuous and honourable funeral than any of his predecessors; and Alexandra was safely settled in the supreme government of the Jewish nation. Matters being thus composed, Alexandra made her eldest son Hyrcanus high-priest*, he being then about thirty-three years old^c; and, according to her promise, did put the administration of her affairs into the hands of the Pharisees. The first thing they did was to revoke the decree of John Hyrcanus; whereby in the latter end of his government he had caused their traditionary constitutions to be abolished. By this revocation, their constitutions being restored to credit, they grew to so great a bulk, that the written word was made of none effect by them. Next they released all out of prison who had been committed for being concerned with them in the late civil wars; and called home from banishment all such as for the same cause had been obliged to flee the country, restoring to them their former possessions; and thus encreased the numbers and strength of their own party. They also proceeded to demand justice against all those by whose advice Alexander had crucified the eight hundred rebels above-mentioned, beginning with Diogenes, a noted confidant of the late king; and having cut him off, they went on with others on the same accusation; whereby they destroyed all of the adverse party they most disliked. Alexandra was forced much against her will to allow this, because

* Ant. C. 78. Alexandra 1.
20 cap. 8.

^c Joseph Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24. lib.

because she could not otherwise preserve peace at home, though she had two powerful armies on foot on the borders of the kingdom, which made her a terror to her neighbours.

Tigranes, having built a large new city in Armenia, which he called Tigranocerta, that is, the city of Tigranes, by the instigation of Mithridates, invaded Cappadocia, and carried thence 300,000 inhabitants, to people this town, and other parts of his dominions: And he did the same in other places where he made conquests: For he is said to have demolished twelve Grecian cities for peopling of Tigranocerta, besides what he did elsewhere. For he transported thither great numbers from Assyria, Adiabene, Gordiana and other countries, for making this a great and populous place. Next year * Nicomedes king of Bithynia dying, left the Roman people his heirs; by virtue whereof, that country became a Roman province^f. Mithridates laid hold on this occasion for reviving the war, and spent the most part of this year in preparing for it. Cyrene at the same time was reduced into the like form of a Roman province, Ptolemy Apion the last king of that country, having on his death given it by his will to the Romans^g: Who, instead of accepting it, declared all the cities free, and left them to be governed by their own laws; which was done twenty years before this^h: But this method causing seditions and tyrannies; to which the Jews are said to have contributed very muchⁱ, the Romans to secure

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* Appian in Mithridaticis, p. 363. Plutarchus in Lucullo. Strabo, lib. 11 p. 532 & lib. 12 p. 539. * Ant. C. 76. Alexandra 3; f Epit. Livii, lib. 93. k Ibid. lib. 70. h See p. 41. i Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12.

the peace of the country, resumed the grant, and made it a province of their republic.

Mithridates seized Paphlagonia: And Bithynia and the provinces of the Lesser Asia, being much exhausted by Roman publicans and usurers, to be delivered from these oppressions*, revolted to him^k. This occasioned the third Mithridatic war, which continued near twelve years.

There being some confusions in Egypt, on the dislike which the people had of Alexander; Selenē, the sister of Lathyrus, put in her claim for that crown, and sent her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus^l, whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes, to Rome, to solicit the senate for putting her in possession. But after two years spent in this matter, they were forced to return without success; and had the misfortune to be robbed, in their way homeward, by Verres, prætor of Sicily, as they passed through that island. The Roman senators held them so long in hand with hopes only to get more money from Alexander, king of Egypt, for confirming him in that kingdom: And when they had squeezed out of him all that could be had, they declared for him, sending home the two poor young princes and their mother with a disappointment.

In Judea the Pharisees went on still to oppress those that had sided with the late king against them. The friends of the late king seeing no end of these persecutions†, gathered into a body, to address the queen, with Aristobulus, her younger son,

* Ant. C. 75. Alexandra 4. ^k Appian in Mithrid. p. 367. Plutarch, in Lucullo. ^l Cicero in Verrem, lib. 4. cap. 27, 28. [†] Ant. C. 72. Alexandra 7.

son, at their head, against such proceedings, setting forth, "How hard it was, that under her administration they should be persecuted to death for their fidelity to the late king her husband^m;" and praying, "That a stop might be put to such processes; or if this could not be done, they might have leave to depart the land, and seek their safety elsewhere; or else that they might be dispersed through the garrisons of the kingdom, that by this means at least they might be out of their enemies reach." The queen commiserated their case; but she had resigned herself so far into the hands of the Pharisees, that she durst do nothing but what they approved; and therefore they granted the last demand of the petitioners, by placing them in the several garrisons of the kingdom: Which answered a double end; for when they were thus settled in those fortresses with their swords in their hands, their enemies could no more approach to do them hurt; and they were there as a certain reserve for the service of the queen whenever occasion should require.

This year was born Herod, called The Great, afterwards king of Judea, (for he was twenty-five years old when he was first made governor of Galileeⁿ, in the forty-seventh year before Christ.) His father's name was Antipas, or Antipater, a noble Idumæan. His mother was called Cyprus, of an illustrious family among the Arabians^o. By country therefore he was an Idumæan, but by religion a Jew, as all the other Idumæans were from the

^m Joseph. b. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24. cap. 2.

ⁿ Ibid. lib. 14. cap. 17. ^o Ibid.

the time that Hyrcanus brought them to embrace the Jewish religion^p.

The Roman consuls for this year, being from the building of Rome 679, were Lucius Lucullus and M. Aurelius Cotta; who were appointed to go into Asia with two armies, (the first having Asia the Lesser, Cilicia and Cappadocia; and the other Bithynia and the Propontis assigned them for their province) and there to prosecute the war against Mithridates^q. Cotta being a person of no skill or experience in military affairs, on his arrival in his province was soon vanquished by Mithridates, at Chalcedon, with the slaughter of a great number of his men; and at the same time he lost the best part of his fleet which he had there for defending the coast. But Lucullus was a man of another character: For besides that he was well skilled in the Greek and Roman learning, (Sylla having dedicated to him^r twenty-two books of the history of his own life and actions) he had been educated in the wars, and had done great services against Mithridates in Asia in the first war, of which Sylla had the principal command. He being made consul, desired the conduct of this war in Asia to be committed to him, being before acquainted with it; and was jealous lest Pompey, who was beloved of the people, but then employed in Spain, fighting against Sertorius, should come and wrest it out of his hand. Mithridates, elevated with his success against Cotta, laid siege to Cyzicus, a city on the Propontis, which strenuously adhered to the Roman interest. Could he have made

^p See page 15. ^q Appian. in Mithridaticis, p. 368, 372. Plutarch in Lucullo. Epitome Livij, lib. 93. ^r Plutarch. in Sylla & in Lucullo.

made himself master of this place, it would have opened him a clear passage from Bithynia into the Lesser Asia. With this view he invested it with three hundred thousand men in ten camps by land, and with four hundred ships of war by sea. But he no sooner sat down before it with his army, than Lucullus sat down by him with another; and without coming to a battle, by obstructing supplies of provisions, so necessary to a numerous army, by falling on his foragers, cutting off detachments, and taking all other advantages, a famine was raised in Mithridates's camps; and he was at length forced to raise the siege with disgrace, after he had lost the greatest part of his army in it.

Mithridates fled to Nicomedia, and from thence by sea into Pontus, leaving some part of his fleet, with ten thousand of his choice men behind him in the Hellespont. Lucullus falling on these with the Roman fleet, cut most of them off, in two naval victories, the first at Tenedos, and the next at Lemnos; in the last of which he took M. Marius, a Roman Senator, sent by Sertorius out of Spain to assist Mithridates. Having by these victories cleared those coasts of his enemies, he turned to the continent, where he reduced Paphlagonia and Bithynia, and marched to Pontus, to carry the war near Mithridates's doors; where he found his enemy sore broken by tempests in his return through the Euxine sea, and only gathering new forces. Lucullus therefore took several cities, most of them by surrender; which bred

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discontents among his soldiers, because they missed the rich prey that they expected: Only Amisus, Eupatoria, and Themiscyra were taken by siege. Mithridates, having gathered new forces, ventured to give battle to Lucullus. In the first two conflicts the former had the better, but in the third he was utterly broken, and forced to flee to Armenia with two thousand horse, to pray for the protection and assistance of Tigranes, his son-in-law. But he staid there a year and eight months ere Tigranes took any notice of him*. Mean-time all places in Pontus yielded to Lucullus, except Amisus, which held out till the beginning of the next spring; when most of that rich city was burnt to ashes, contrary to the will of the conqueror.

In Judea, Queen Alexandra finding that Ptolemy, the son of Menæus, prince of Chalcis, at the foot of mount Libanus, was vexatious to his neighbours, especially to those of Damascus; she sent Aristobulus, her younger son, to suppress him†, and under this pretence to seize Damascus. But Aristobulus, under this cover, being more intent to make an interest for the crown against the time his mother should die, than to execute his commission, made use of this opportunity chiefly to secure the army for himself; and therefore having seized Damascus, returned without doing any other memorable action.

Selene, the daughter of Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, who had been the wife of Ptolemy Lathyrus, her brother, and, being taken from him,

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* Ant. C. 71. Alexandra 8. † Joseph. Antiq lib. 13. cap. 24

was married to Antiochus Grypus, and, after his death, to Antiochus Cyzicenus, by whom she had two sons; finding that her pretences to Egypt could not succeed, endeavoured to enlarge her power in Syria; where she prevailed with several cities to revolt to her ^u, and attempted to do the same to others. Tigranes having received an account of these defections ^{*}, came thither with a very great army to suppress them; and having shut up Selene in Ptolemais, and on his taking of it made her prisoner, carried her with him as far as Seleucia in Mesopotamia, where he put her to death. While Tigranes lay at the siege of Ptolemais, Queen Alexandra, fearing his power, sent ambassadors to him with large presents, to court his friendship; whom he received with all seeming kindness, accepting the gifts, and granting the friendship that was desired, not so much out of favour to the queen, as to comply with the exigency of his own affairs; for the progress of the Romans made his presence necessary in Armenia.

Tigranes, on his return to Antioch, was there met by Appius Clodius, sent in embassy from Lucullus to demand Mithridates to be delivered to him, with orders, in case of refusal ^{*}, to declare war. Tigranes never having been used with any body to contradict him, was offended with the freedom of speech that Clodius used, and much more with Lucullus's letter, directed only, *To King Tigranes*, without the title of *King of Kings*, which he vainly used: For he having conquered several kings, had four of them always attending him

^u Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24.

^{*} Ant. C. 70. Alexandra 9.

^{*} Plutarchus in Lucullo.

him as lackies when he rode abroad; and when he sat on his throne, or gave audience to ambassadors, he had the like number of them serving him, or standing with folded hands, in token of subjection. In resentment then of this affront, as he judged it, he directed his answer, *To Lucullus*, without giving him the additional title of *Imperator*, or any other usually given to Roman generals. Upon his refusal to deliver up Mithridates, Clodius declared war against him, and returned to the commander in chief to acquaint him of it. Lucullus was by this time returned out of Pontus into the province of Asia; where he found great abuses committed by the Roman farmers of the twenty thousand talents, to be paid out of that country, by the peace made between Mithridates and Sylla. They exacted usury upon usury, and reduced the people even to such straits, as they were obliged to sell their own children. He restrained those excessive usuries, and reduced the debts to such a method, as the same might be paid in four years; for which he was highly esteemed and praised by that people: But the usurers at Rome made such outcries, and formed such plots against him, as were the occasion of his being afterwards recalled from his command.

War being declared against Tigranes, Lucullus hastened to Pontus, where he took Synope, making it and Amisus free cities; and having left six thousand men to keep Pontus in order, with twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse, he marched forward against Tigranes, all the way to

to the river Euphrates; where, having passed that river, he proceeded to the Tigris, and thence to Tigranocerta, to visit his adversary in his metropolis, to which he was returned from Syria, after concerning measures with Mithridates. Tigranes was not a little surprised to find Lucullus so near him, and offended to that degree, as he put to death the first messenger who told him the news.
§ 22. In Judea Queen Alexandra fell sick and died, being seventy-three years old. Few exceptions could be made against her government, but that she found it necessary to her affairs to go in too much with the Pharisees. Aristobulus, her youngest son, seeing her past recovery, privately left Jerusalem in the night-time, with one servant, and repaired to the castles in which his father's friends had been placed in garrison, two and twenty of these fortresses putting themselves in his hands in a few days; whereby he was in a manner master of the whole strength of the kingdom. At the same time the army and people were ready to declare for him, being weary of the oppressive administration of the Pharisees. Besides, they had no hopes of Hyrcanus, his elder brother, who was bred in a thorough devotion to that sect; and being a dull, indolent man, was of no capacity to redress their grievances. The Pharisees observing how Aristobulus prevailed, got Hyrcanus at their head to address the dying queen for her direction and assistance. She only told them, "That now she was in no condition to meddle in their affairs, but left all to their own conduct:"

^a Appian. in Mithridaticis, p. 381. ^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24.

conduct." And having named Hyrcanus her heir, she died. The Pharisees set Hyrcanus on the throne, and got ready an army to march against Aristobulus; but when they came to a decisive action, most of Hyrcanus's forces went over to his brother, and he with his friends were forced to retire to Jerusalem, and there shut themselves up within the castle Baris. But being obliged to yield, it was agreed, "That Aristobulus should have the crown and the high-priesthood, and that Hyrcanus should live as a private person upon his own fortunes;" which he submitted to, being a man that loved his own ease more than any thing else. Thus he quitted the government, after he had held it only three months; and the tyranny of the Pharisees, which they had exercised for nine years, since the death of Alexander Jannæus, ceased.

Tigranes sending Mithrobarzanes, and a part of his forces, with orders to take Lucullus prisoner, instead thereof, Mithrobarzanes was slain, and most of his forces with him*. Hereupon Tigranes left his royal city of Tigranocerta, and retired to mount Taurus with his army. Lucullus having cut off severals of his troops, and invested his city, where was a multitude of people and great riches, carried from the countries which he had conquered. For relief of this place, Tigranes having assembled a great army of above two hundred thousand men, resolved to give the Romans battle; which Lucullus did not decline, notwithstanding the vast disproportion of numbers; but leaving

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 1. . * Ant. C. 69. Aristobulus, II. 1.

leaving Murena with six thousand men to continue the siege, he marched himself with about ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse into the field. When they came to action, though Tigranes's men shined in their armour, yet, when they found the Romans falling upon them with their swords in good earnest, they turned tail and fled in disorder, without almost ever striking a stroke. Plutarch tells us, "That it is thought there were slain in this overthrow, above an hundred thousand foot, and very few of the horse were saved, and that of the Romans there were only about one hundred hurt, and five slain;" That Antiochus the philosopher said, "the sun never saw such an overthrow," and that Titus Livius declareth, "that the Romans were never in any battle with so small a number of fighting men against so many enemies: For the conquerors were not the twentieth part to the conquered." The diadem of Tigranes was brought to Lucullus, himself hardly escaping. Mithridates met him in his flight, and comforted him the best way he could. In the mean time Lucullus took Tigranocerta, with all the royal treasures laid up there^d, among which were eight thousand talents of coined money. Out of the spoils he gave eight hundred drachms to each soldier, and dismissed the Greeks, who had been brought by Tigranes out of Cilicia and Cappadocia, to plant this new city, allowing them to return home to their own habitations; whereby he gained great esteem; and

^c Plutarch. in Lucullo. ^d Appian. in Mithridaticis p. 384 Dion Cassius, lib 35. p. 1. Here begins what remains of this author, the former part being lost.

he made the war maintain itself. Only Lucullus was complained of for not pursuing Mithridates and Tigranes close at the heels, but giving them time to recruit and raise a new army. This omission displeased the Romans, and the riches the soldiers got, with the luxury and idleness that they learned at Tigranocerta, raised in them a spirit of mutiny; which was attended with bad consequences, as we shall afterwards hear.

Tigranes and Mithridates* having got together an army of seventy thousand choice men, and having exercised them in the Roman way of fighting, about the middle of the next summer took the field; but encamping in strong places, Lucullus could not draw them to a battle. At length he fell upon this stratagem, to sit down before Artaxata, the old metropolis of Armenia, where Tigranes had left his wives and children, with his best effects and treasures. The king could not bear so great a loss; and to prevent the taking so important a place, both armies came to a battle, wherein the Romans again obtained a very signal victory. Mithridates could not bear the cry of the Roman legions, but turned and fled, which disordered the whole army. Plutarch writes, "That the chase continued the whole night, till the Romans, weary of slaying, fell a taking prisoners, and packing up the spoils; and that Titus Livius (whose books on that subject are now lost, though extant in Plutarch's time) saith, "that though there was a greater number slain in the first battle, yet there were greater persons killed and

* Ant. C. 68. Aristobulus II, 2. * In Lucullo.

and taken prisoners in this." Lucullus inclined to have returned to the siege of Artaxata, the taking whereof might have ended the war; but his army would not follow him into such cold regions in the winter season, and therefore he yielded to necessity, passed mount Taurus, and put his army into winter-quarters at Nisibis in Mesopotamia. There the spirit of mutiny began to appear in his army, which hindered him to do any further service. Publius Clodius, the brother of Lucullus's wife, was the prime incendiary¹; and the orators at Rome, who managed a separate interest, blew the coal. In the mean time, Mithridates with about eight thousand men had returned to Pontus, and there vanquished Fabius, one of Lucullus's lieutenants; and Triarius having rashly engaged in battle with Mithridates, was overcome, with the loss of seven thousand of his men², among whom were one hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four military tribunes; which was the greatest blow that the Romans had received for some years. Lucullus found the dead bodies lying in the field of battle, and neglected to bury them. After this his army treated him with all insolence and contempt: For though he almost went from man to man, beseeching them to go out against Mithridates and Tigranes³, who by this time had recovered a great part of their dominions; yet they would not stir. Thus the case stood, till Pompey was sent by the Roman people with fresh troops to take the management of the war. If

Lucullus's

¹ Appian. p. 385.—388. Dion Cassius, p. 6, 7. edit. 1592 apud Stephanum. & Plutarch. in Lucullo, p. m. 531. Epitome Livii, lib. 98.
² Ant. C. 67.

Lucullus's army had not turned mutinous, and if he had not been opposed by a party at Rome^a, who studied to advance Pompey to wear the laurels which Lucullus had won, he was in a fair way, not only to have ended the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, but also to have extended the Roman dominions to Parthia and the remotest places of Asia, which none of his successors ever did: For having overthrown Tigranes, the Parthian princes, who were subject to this king, could not probably have stood before him. However, Lucullus with a small part of his troops returned, and had the honour of a rich triumph, adorned with the spoils, treasures, cups of gold and silver taken from the kings of the East. After his triumph, he soon retired from public affairs, and spent the remainder of his life in making sumptuous buildings, fine gardens, magnificent feasts, and in a very expensive way of living. He was a lover of philosophy, and carried with him a great number of books, which he had gathered out of the spoils during the war, and with them erected a great library, which was free for the use of learned men who resorted to it, where they found a kind and generous entertainment. He died in his advanced years, not without suspicion of poison, which crazed his judgment, and hastened his end^b: And he had a sumptuous burial. His quiet retirement, and contentment after his victories, notwithstanding some disappointments, was (in my humble opinion) more commendable, than the cruel resentments of Marius and Sylla against

^a Cicero in oratione pro lege Manilia. ^b Plutar. h. in Lucullo. ^c Ibid.

against those who had opposed them: And it had been happy for Pompey his successor, if he could have followed the like method, after he had won enough of riches and honour.

§ 23. Pompey succeeded Lucullus in the command of the war against Mithridates and Tigranes: But before I narrate what part he acted therein, it may be proper, for a fuller view of the Roman affairs at that time, to look back to the life and actions of this great man. Cneius Pompeius was born at the same time with Cicero, in the year of Rome 648. His father, who had the same name, had been consul, and served his country very faithfully in the wars. He himself was much beloved by the Romans from his youth, for his temperance, eloquence, good-breeding¹, and especially for his skill and success in war. He joined Sylla, in opposition to Marius, and was sent with the command of an army against those of that party who had fled into Sicily and Africa; where he overcame Domitius, and settled the affairs of the Romans in those parts, when he was scarce twenty-four years of age. For which services, upon his return Sylla saluted him by the name of *Magnus*, or, the Great, which title was always afterwards given him; and he triumphed before he had been admitted to the senate. His second triumph was for finishing the war against Sertorius in Spain, which we have already^m noticed. While he was in that country, Spartacus the gladiator, with seventy-four of his companions, having broken out of his fencing school at Capua, wandering

¹ Plutarch. in Pompeio. ^m See p. 176.

ing through the country, and increasing in their numbers, commenced a dangerous war in Italy^a. For they had gathered together an army of seventy thousand men, mostly of vagabond pretenders to liberty, and had overthrown several Roman captains, and two of the consuls; till at last they were conquered by Licinius Crassus the pro-consul in Apulia, who killed twelve thousand three hundred of those fugitives. Five thousand of them fell into Pompey's hands, that had fled from the battle: These he destroyed in his return to Rome, and wrote to the senate^b, "That Crassus had overcome the gladiators, but he had plucked up that war by the roots."

Pompey and Crassus being made consuls in the year of Rome 683, they never agreed in one thing; and though Crassus had more authority with the senate, Pompey had more credit with the people^c; which he carefully promoted: For in a lustrum performed at this time, wherein four hundred and fifty thousand citizens were entered into the census^d, he complied with the custom of leading his own horse into the forum; and submitting himself to the censors, desired to be discharged from the wars. The same year the pirates in Cilicia, who had been first employed by Mithridates to rob by sea, not being suppressed in the beginning, became very troublesome; for they not only plundered and destroyed merchant ships, but also several islands belonging to the Romans. Having gathered together about a thousand

^a Florus, lib. 3 cap. 20. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 702.

^b Plutarch. in Pompeio. ^c Ibid. ^d Livii Epitome, lib. 98. ^e Plutarch. in Pompeio.

and ships, they had robbed many Pagan temples, had defeated several Roman praetors¹, and had landed in Italy and taken many prisoners. These losses and affronts enraged the Romans; and to remedy them, Gabinus the tribune of the people preferred a law, "That an admiral should be chosen with full power against those pirates for three years, and that he should have abundance of forces, and many lieutenants." This office fell upon Pompey. The senate were indeed jealous of such an enlargement of his power; but the people being as zealous for him, allowed him, by their decree, five hundred ships, one hundred and twenty thousand foot, five thousand horse, with money out of the treasury to defray the charge, four and twenty senators, who had each of them been generals of armies to be his lieutenants, and two quaestors or treasurers. Pompey having got his commission, distributed his lieutenants with their ships and forces, through several creeks and bays of the Mediterranean sea, that the pirates might be chased by one squadron of his fleet, and apprehended by another; he himself directing the whole with such success, that in forty days he cleared the coasts of Italy, Libya, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily of those rovers, taking four hundred ships, one hundred and twenty forts, and killing ten thousand men. Other twenty thousand that were taken, were sent to remote places, where they could do no hurt. Metellus was more severe to those pirates he seized at Crete; for he put them all to death, and subdued the island: For which he had the surname of Creticus².

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¹ Plutarch. in Pompeio, Florus, lib. 3. cap. 6. Appian in Mithridaticis, p. 389,—395. Dion Cassius, lib. 36. p. 9,—10. ² Florus, lib. 3. cap. 7.

The war with these pirates being finished in four months, Manilius the tribune proposed a law, "That Pompey should be named successor to Lucullus; and that all the armies which the Romans had in any place, together with the government of all Asia, and the management of the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, should be committed to him alone." Catulus, with some other senators, reasoned against this law, as tending to make one man a monarch over the Roman empire: but the orators, and particularly Cicero, in an oration still extant, speaking boldly on Pompey's side, and the people being for him, when the law came to a scrutiny, it passed with little opposition. G. Julius Cæsar, lately quæstor, is said to have favoured it, chiefly with design that the people might be more easily persuaded one day or other, to commit the like extraordinary power to himself.

Pompey having levied his army*, and made what preparations he judged necessary, marched into Asia, and met with Lucullus in Galatia; where, after compliments, they came to some hot words*, but soon parted. Lucullus marched on to Rome with 1600 men to accompany his triumph, the rest of his army for most part joining with Pompey; who made a league with Phraates king of Parthia, and finding that Mithridates declined the conditions of peace which he offered, went on with the war. Mithridates judged it for his interest to decline fighting; and to weary out the Romans by delays, and by cut-

^u Cicero pro lege Manilia Operum, p. m. 396.—406.

• Art. C. 66.

Aristob. II. 4.

* Plutarch, in Pompeio.

7-349-327. Lion Capital. 18. 10. 1900. 7-349-327. Lion Capital. 18. 10. 1900.

ting off their provisions. But while he was doing this, he was surprised by Pompey in a night march, had ten thousand of his men cut in pieces, and his camp taken¹; and he himself was obliged to flee northward beyond the springs of Euphrates, to seek safety, for Tigranes, his son-in-law, refused to protect him. Tigranes was then at war with his son of that same name. He had put two sons, whom he had by Cleopatra the daughter of Mithridates, to death; and this third, not thinking himself safe under so cruel a father, fled to Phraates king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married, who sent him back into Armenia with an army, whereby he laid siege to Artaxata. But old Tigranes defeated his son, and drove him out of the country²; whereupon young Tigranes resolved to go to Mithridates his grandfather: But hearing of his overthrow, he fled to the Roman camp, and there delivered himself to Pompey, who was glad of such a man to guide his army in the right road to Artaxata in Armenia. On the approach of Pompey, old Tigranes thinking himself unprovided to resist such an enemy, with an abject mind surrendered himself to the Romans, lighting from his horse, yielding his sword, throwing his crown at Pompey's feet, and falling down before him. Pompey rose from his seat, lifted him up, gave him back his diadem, caused him sit by him, and invited both the father and son to sup with him, and promised next day to hear their cause. But the son refusing to come, and neglecting to shew his father any respect, much offended Pompey³. However

¹ Livii Epit. lib. 100. ² Plutarch. in Pompeio. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 398.—402. ³ Plutarch. in Pompeio. Dion-Cassius, lib. 36. p. 29.

However he decreed that the father should abandon Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and all upon this side the river Euphrates, which had been subdued by Lucullus; that he should pay the Romans six thousand talents for making war upon them; but that he should still reign in his paternal kingdom of Armenia the Greater: And that his son should govern Gordena and Sophena (bordering on Armenia) during his father's life, and, at his decease, should succeed him in all his dominions, reserving to the father the treasure which he had deposited in Sophena, that he might be the better able to pay the Romans. Tigranes the son being displeased with these conditions, made an attempt to escape, and raise new disturbances: Which Pompey understanding, clapped him up in prison, reserving him to be led in triumph at Rome. But the father being well pleased with what was yielded to him, not only paid the six thousand talents, but also added a donative to the Roman army; to every soldier half a mina; to every centurion ten minas, and to each military tribune a talent. Whereupon he was declared a friend and ally of the Roman people. Pompey having thus composed matters in Armenia, marched northward after Mithridates. On his coming to the river Cyrus, he was opposed by the Albanians and Iberians, powerful nations that lie between the Caspian and Euxine seas. Having overcome them, and forced the Albanians to sue for peace, he wintered^b among them.

Early next year^c, he marched against the Iberians, a warlike nation, which had never yet yielded.

^b Livii Epit. lib. 101. Plutarch. in Pompeio. Appian in Mithridat. p. 402. Dion Cassius, lib. 36, 37. ^c Ant. C. 65. Aristob. II. 5.

yielded to the Medes, Persians, nor Macedonians^c. However Pompey forced them to sue for peace. The Iberians and Colchians renewing the war, Pompey overthrew them in battle with a great slaughter, where Cosis, the brother of Orodes their king, who commanded the army, was killed. By this victory he obliged Orodes to purchase a grant of the last year's peace, by large gifts and presents, and to send his sons to him as hostages for the keeping thereof. Mithridates having wintered at Dioscurias, a place situate between the Euxine and the Caspian sea, next spring set out for the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which is now the country of the Crim Tartars. Machares his son, who reigned there, having made peace with the Romans, while Lucullus lay at the siege of Sinope, was so afraid of falling into his father's hands, that he killed himself.

Pompey having finished the war in the north, and finding it impracticable to pursue Mithridates any further that way, led back his army into the south-east parts of Asia. In his way thither, having subdued Darius king of Media, and Antiochus king of Comagena^d, he came into Syria, and having by Scaurus reduced Coelestria and Damascus, and by Gabinius, all the rest of these parts, as far as the Tigris, he made the Romans masters of all the Syrian empire. Antiochus Asiaticus the son of Antiochus Eusebes, the remaining heir of the Seleucian family, had, by permission of Lucullus, for four years reigned in some part of that country: But Pompey refused to yield him any share of it^e, and reduced the whole of it into the form

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of

^c Plutarchus in Pompeio. ^d Appian. in Mithridat. p. 404. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 4.

^e Justin, lib. 40. cap. 2.

a Roman province. Thus while Tigranes, who had made a long war against the Romans was permitted to reign in Armenia, poor Antiochus, who had never done them any hurt, was stripped of all his possessions. The reasons given for this conduct are, That the Romans who had conquered these countries from Tigranes, were not to lose the fruits of their victory; and so weak a prince as Antiochus, was not able to protect them from the incursions of the Jews and Arabs. Here completely ended the empire of the Seleucids in Asia, after it had continued there 258 years.

In the mean time there happened some revolutions in Egypt: For the Alexandrians being weary of Alexander their king^e, rose in mutiny against him, drove him out of the kingdom, and called in Ptolemy Auletes, the bastard son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, to wear their crown. He much valued himself for his skill in playing on the pipe^h, and therefore was called Auletes, or the Piper, and Dionysius *niac*, or the *New Bacchus*, because he did imitate the effeminacy of the bacchanals, dancing in a female dress. Alexander on his expulsion, fled to Pompey, offering him great gifts, and promising him moreⁱ, if he would assist in order to restore him to the throne: But Pompey refused to meddle in that matter, as being without the bounds of his commission: Whereupon Alexander retired to Tyre, to wait a more favourable opportunity, and soon after died in that city^k.

§ 24. In

^f See p. 51. ^g Trogus in Prologo 39. ^h Sueton. in Julio Cesare, cap. 21. ⁱ Strabo, lib. 17. p. 796. ^j Appian. in Mithrid. p. 414. ^k Cicero in Oratore 2. contra Rullum, cap. 16.

§ 24. In Judea Antipater, the father of Herod, by his aspiring temper, occasioned a remarkable revolution. He had the favour of Hyrcanus, the elder brother of Aristobulus king of Judea: But Hyrcanus being deposed¹, Antipater saw no way to advance his own fortune, but by restoring him again to the crown. In order to this end, he treated with Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea, to assist Hyrcanus with an army, and engaged a great number of the Jew to favour the design. But Hyrcanus being an indolent man, who had no ambition for a sceptre, he had great difficulty to persuade him to stir^m. At length he made him believe that his brother designed to take away his life, and he must chuse either to reign or die. With this argument Hyrcanus was roused up to flee to Aretas, who, according to his agreement with Antipater, brought him back into Judea with an army of fifty thousand men; who, joining with the Jews of Hyrcanus' party, gave battle to Aristobulus; and gaining an absolute victory over him, pursued him to Jerusalem; which they entered without opposition, driving him and all his people to flee to the mountain of the temple, where they besieged him, the priests only standing by him, but the generality of the people declaring for Hyrcanus. During the siege happened the passover: Aristobulus wanting beasts for the sacrifices at that occasion, agreed with the besiegers to furnish them for a piece of money: But when the price contracted was let down over the wall, the besiegers refused to deliver the sacrifices; whereby

¹ See page 190.
lib. 1. cap. 5.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 2, 3, 4. De bello Jud.

whereby they not only falsified their promise, but also robbed God of that part of worship which was then to be performed. And to this they added another piece of wickedness, by killing Onias, a man of great reputation for a holy life, because he prayed that God might hear the prayers of neither party against the other. Scaurus, one of Pompey's lieutenants, being at this time come into Damascus with a Roman army, Aristobulus, by the promise of four hundred talents, engaged him on his side. Hyrcanus offered him the like sum; but Scaurus looking on Aristobulus as more able to pay, and, for other reasons, liking him better, chose to embrace his cause; and Gabinius, by a present of three hundred talents, was prevailed on to do the same: And therefore they both sent to Aretas to withdraw, threatening to declare him an enemy to the Romans, in case he refused. Aretas therefore raised the siege, and marched off to his own country: Whereupon Aristobulus coming out of the temple, got together all the forces he could; and having overtaken Aretas at a place called Papyrion, overthrew him in battle with a great slaughter; in which perished many of the Jews of Hyrcanus's party, and among them Cephalio, the brother of Antipater.

When Pompey himself came to Damascus, there resorted to him ambassadors from all the neighbouring countries. Plutarch^a tells us, That no fewer than twelve kings were there attending him. The kings of Egypt and Judea, then reigning by the expulsion of their immediate predecessors, thought

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^a Plutarch in Pompeio.

it their interest to get the Roman power on their side to maintain their pretensions. For this reason the ambassadors of Egypt presented Pompey with a crown to the value of four thousand pieces of gold; and those from Judea gave him a vine of gold, to the value of five hundred talents; which was afterwards deposited in the temple of Jupiter, in the capitol at Rome, and there inscribed as the gift of Alexander, king of the Jews^o. It seems they would not own Aristobulus as king, and therefore did inscribe his father's name upon his gift. At the audience concerning the Jewish affairs, Antipater managed the cause of Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus that of Aristobulus. But the latter did hurt to the cause of his master, by complaining of the four hundred talents which Scaurus, and the three hundred talents which Gabinius had extorted from him: For this made these two great men enemies to Aristobulus, so as to influence Pompey against him. But in the mean time he dismissed both parties with good words, ordering the two brothers to appear in person before him, and promising to do them justice.

§ 25. Many strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia still holding out for Mithridates, Pompey found it necessary to march into those parts and reduce them; which being accomplished, he took up his winter-quarters at Aspis in Pontus. Among the places he reduced, one called *Kamē*, or *Newcastle*, was the strongest^p. There Mithridates had laid up a great part of his treasure and best effects, which fell into the hands of the conquerors. There

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, cap. 5. ^p Strabo, lib. 12. p. 556.

There were found the private memoirs of this prince*, which made a discovery of his secret designs and transactions. There also were found several love-letters, treatises about the interpretation of dreams, and his medicinal commentaries. While Pompey lay at Aspis, he settled the affairs of the adjacent countries: And finding he could not pursue Mithridates further, he having got into the kingdom of Bosphorus, on the other side of the Euxine sea*, he ordered ships in their several stations on that sea, to hinder all provisions and necessaries to be carried to him. Thus the poor old prince had famine to debate with, the worst of enemies. Pompey, having ended his affairs in these parts, so far as he could, returned into Syria, where he made Antioch and Seleucia, on the Orontes, free cities*, and continued his march to Damascus. On his way he examined the complaints of many petty princes, who had set up on the declension of the Syrian empire. Many of them had exercised tyranny on their subjects, and depredations on their neighbours. Pompey, after enquiry into their affairs, confirmed some of them in their possessions, under condition of becoming tributary to the Romans; others he deprived; and some he condemned to death for male-administration. But Ptolemy, the son of Menæus†, the prince of Chalcis, the wickedest of them all, escaped; for having made himself rich by oppression, he presented Pompey with a thousand talents; whereby he redeemed his life and principality, and continued in both many years thereafter.

Mithridates

* Plutarchus in Pompeio. * Ant. C. 64. Aristob. II. 6. * Strabo, lib. 16 p. 751. † Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 5.

Mithridates had before this made proposals of peace, even that he might be allowed to keep his paternal kingdom, as had been granted to Tigranes, he would pay tribute to the Romans, and quit all his other dominions. To which Pompey answered, "He must then come to him in person as Tigranes had done. But Mithridates fearing above all things to be carried prisoner to Rome, would by no means comply with this offer: Which obliged Pompey to march back again into Pontus, where he fixed his residence at Amisus; and there practised the same thing he had before blamed in Lucullus, by dividing the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, and distributing rewards, as if the war had been ended: For he gave the Lesser Armenia to Dejotarus, one of the princes of the Galatians, the same man for whom Cicero made an eloquent oration before Julius Caesar, which is still extant. He made Archelaus high-priest of the moon, the great goddess of the Commanians in Pontus; and to others he gave great gifts.

In the mean-time Mithridates died. Concerning this great man we may observe, That finding no hopes of making peace with the Romans on any tolerable terms, he resolved to make a desperate expedition, through the way of Pannonia and the Trentine Alps into Italy itself, and there assault them, as Hannibal had before done, at their own doors. But this undertaking containing a march of above two thousand miles, so frightened his army, that for avoiding it they conspired against him, and

¹ Plutarchus in Pompeio. ² Cicero pro Rege Dejotaro, Operum. p. m. 647, & seqq. ³ Appian. in Mithridat. p. 415. Strabo, lib. 12. p. 558.

and made Pharnaces, his son, their king. Whereupon the old man finding himself deserted of all, and his son not allowing him to escape, he retired to his apartment; and having distributed poison to his wives, concubines, and daughters then with him, he took a dose of it himself: But that not operating, he had recourse to his sword. The wound, through his own weakness, not being sufficient to cause his death, he called in a Gallic soldier, named Bitæus¹, or some soldiers, debauched by his son, rushed in², who dispatched him, after he had lived seventy-two years, and reigned sixty. As to his character, he was a very extraordinary person, being acquainted with all the learning of these times. Though he had twenty-two several nations under his dominion, 'tis said³ he could speak to every one of them in their own proper language; and did foresee all the plots formed against him, except this by his son, wherein he perished. Though he failed in the war he undertook against the Romans, his spirit never sunk with his fortunes, but he always found out some expedient or other to repair his losses. But his vices were as great as his virtues; for his cruelty appeared in murdering his mother, his brother, with a great number of his sons, friends, and followers on slight occasions. His ambition was displayed in invading other mens rights to augment his dominions, and never sticking at treachery, murder, or perfidy to reach his end. And his lust discovered itself

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¹ Appian in Mithridat p. 410, 411. Livii Epit. lib. 102. ² Dion. Cassius, lib. 37. p. 39. ³ Aurelius Victor. in Mithridat. Valerius Maxim. lib. 8. cap. 7. Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 25. & lib. 25. cap. 2. Quintil. lib. 11. cap. 2.

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Juda

in the vast number of wives and concubines he gleaned up every where, whom he lodged in fortified castles, and when reduced to any distress, never failed to poison or cut off^b; as he also did his sisters and daughters, that none of them might fall into his enemies hands; only Hypsicratia attended him in all his wars in man's apparel. Pompey carried five of his sons, and two of his daughters with him to Rome, and there caused them to be led before him in triumph. Thus was the Mithridatic war finished, which continued from Mithridates's seizing Cappadocia, to the time of his death, twenty-seven years.

Pompey marched directly to Damascus, designing from thence to march against Aretas, the Arabian, who had made incursions into Syria. While he staid at Damascus^c, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, with several of the Jews, appeared before him to plead their cause. The Jews desired, "That they might not be governed by a king, but by a high-priest of their own nation; and might worship God according to their ancient customs;" and alledged, "That the contending brothers, though they were of the sacerdotal race, yet had changed the form of government, to subject the people to slavery." Hyrcanus urged, "That he was unjustly deprived of his birthright by Aristobulus, his younger brother, who left him only a small portion of land for his subsistence^d; and that his said brother practised piracy by sea, and depredations by land upon his neighbours:" All which he got confirmed

^b Plutarchus in Pompeio & in Lucullo. Appian. passim & speciatim, p. 412, 413. ^c Ant. C. 63. ^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap 3. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap 5.

confirmed by the testimony of about a thousand Jews, whom Antipater had brought to that purpose. To this Aristobulus answered, "That Hyrcanus was put from the government merely for his incapacity to manage it; and that he was forced to interpose, for preserving the conduct of the government from falling into other hands; and did bear no other title in the state than what Alexander, his father, had before him." For verifying this, he adduced the testimony of several young men in splendid apparel, who brought little credit to his cause. Pompey, though he did not approve the violence of Aristobulus, yet, lest he should obstruct him in the Arabian war, dismissed both parties with fair words, promising, that as soon as he had reduced Aretas, he would return in person to Judea, and there compose all points in difference. Aristobulus perceiving that Pompey's inclinations were against him, went off without taking leave, and returned to Judea, armed the country for his own defence; which provoked the Roman general against him.

Though Aretas had contemned the Roman arms, when at a distance, yet, when he found them so near him with their victorious troops, he sent ambassadors to make his submission. However, Pompey marched to Petra, the metropolis of his kingdom; and having taken the place, and Aretas in it, he put him under custody; but afterwards released him, on his complying with the terms which the conqueror required, and then returned to Damascus.

There

There he was informed of the warlike preparations which Aristobulus was making in Judea, and marched into that country to oppose him. On his arrival, he found Aristobulus in his castle of Alexandrion^e; which was a strong fortress situated in the entrance of the land on a high mountain, and being built by Alexander Jannæus, the father of Aristobulus, did bear his name. Upon Pompey's desire, Aristobulus came to the Roman camp, and conversed with him. He and those who were about him thinking themselves unprovided for a war with the Romans, judged it expedient to make this compliance two or three times, still expecting that he might gain the Roman general to decide the controversy in his favour; but for fear of the worst, he was at the same time arming all his castles, and making all the preparations for war he could. Of which Pompey being informed, in the last conference he had with him, he forced him to deliver up all those strong holds to the Romans, and to sign orders for this purpose to all that commanded in them. Aristobulus resented this force put upon him; and therefore, as soon as he had escaped out of Pompey's hands, he fled to Jerusalem, and there prepared for war. On his flight, Pompey marched after him, and pitched his camp at Jericho; where he had the news of Mithridates's death^f sent him by letters from Pontus. His army being newly encamped, had no tribunal made of turfs for their general to ascend in order to speak to them, as their custom was: But they heaped
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up

^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 6. ^f Ibidem. ibid. Plutarch. in Pompeio.

up their pack-saddles one upon another; which Pompey mounring, told them, "That Mithridates, having laid violent hands upon himself, was dead; and that Pharnaces, his son, having seized the kingdom, submitted that and himself to the Roman state: And therefore the war was ended." For which welcome news the whole army spent that day rejoicing.

§ 26. From Jericho Pompey marched his army to Jerusalem. On his approach, Aristobulus, repenting of what he had done, went out to Pompey, and endeavoured to reconcile matters, promising a thorough submission; and also a sum of money¹, if so the war might be prevented. But when the Romans came to Jerusalem, they found the gates shut, and no money to be had; but were told from the walls, that those within would not stand to the agreement. Pompey not bearing thus to be mocked, clapt Aristobulus (whom he had retained with him) in chains, and marched with his whole army to Jerusalem. The party who were for Aristobulus resolved to defend the place, especially by reason of their indignation at Pompey's making their king a prisoner. But those who favoured Hyrcanus were for receiving Pompey into the city; and they being the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain of the temple; where, having broke down the bridges over the deep ditches that surrounded it, they purposed to maintain themselves. Pompey being received into the city, set himself to besiege the temple, into which most of the priests had retired.

¹ Joseph. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 7. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 5.

tired. Hyrcanus and his friends took care to supply the Roman army with all necessaries. Being thus provided, and the besieged having refused terms of peace that were offered, the Romans began their approaches at the north-side of the temple, where it was weakest. Pompey having got from Tyre battering-rams and other engines proper for a siege, applied himself to carry it on with great vigour. However, the place held out for three months, and might have done so much longer, had it not been for the superstitious rigour with which the Jews observed their Sabbath, which is noticed by Dion Cassius¹, a heathen. Formerly, they would not so much as defend their lives on that day²; but the mischief of this being found in the Maccabean wars³, they resolved, that the necessary defence of a man's life on the Sabbath was not prohibited by the fourth command. But this being understood of an immediate assault, not of hindering any preparation in order thereto, they would not in the present danger stir a hand for hindering the besiegers works, or destroying their engines on the Sabbath⁴, as they did on other days. This being observed, Pompey ordered that no assault should be made on that day, but that then care should be taken to repair their works and engines, in such a manner as they might do the greater execution on the following days of the week: Which enabled the besiegers to fill up ditches, and play their engines so effectually, as to beat down a strong tower, and with it the adjoining part of the wall, so as Cor-

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¹ Dion. Cassius, lib. 37. p. 41. ² 1 Maccab. ii. 32.—38. ³ Ibid. v. 41.

⁴ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8. De bello Judaico, lib. 3. cap. 5.

nelius Faustus the son of Sylla, who had his station there, mounting the breach, the rest of the army followed, and took the place, making a dreadful slaughter of those within; so as it is reckoned there fell at that time twelve thousand men, none acting more cruelly than the Jews of the contrary faction. Some of the priests had their blood mingled with their sacrifices; who, to shun present death, would not desert the service of their God. Absolam, the uncle, and also the father-in-law of Aristobulus, was taken prisoner; but whether he suffered death among the incendiaries of the war, we know not, only after this, we hear no more of him.

Thus, after a siege of three months, was the temple of Jerusalem taken by the Romans, in the end of the second year of the 179 Olympiad, M. Tullius Cicero, and Caius Antonius being consuls, in the year of Rome 690, before the birth of Christ 63 years, and of the government of Hyrcanus II. the first year, in the time when the Jews were observing a solemn fast^m for the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, which happened about our mid-summer. The Romans having in this manner taken the temple, Pompey with several of his officers went into it, not only viewing the outer works, but also the holy of holies, where none were permitted by the law to enter, but only the high-priest once a year, which was a profanation of that place, not only complained of by Josephusⁿ, but also by several heathen authors, as in their words at the foot of

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 762, 763. Dion Cassius, lib. 37. p. 41. ⁿ Joseph. locis citatis.

the page°. Though Pompey found in the treasures of the house of the Lord two thousand talents in money, besides the utensils and other things of great value there laid up, yet he touched nothing of all this°, but left it entire for the sacred uses for which it was devoted; and next day ordered the temple to be cleansed, and divine service to be there performed as formerly. But this did not expiate his profanation of God's holy temple. This victory over the Jews, was the last ever he won. However, I shall not determine that all the calamities which afterwards happened to Pompey the Great, were the effects of divine vengeance for the impiety he committed in the temple at Jerusalem: *God's judgments are a great deep.* The war being concluded, he demolished the walls of Jerusalem, and restored Hyrcanus to the office of the high-priest, making him prince of the country under tribute to the Romans, but not allowing him to wear a diadem, nor to extend his borders beyond the old limits of Judea, depriving him of those cities that had been taken from the Cœlesyrians and Phœnicians, of which Gadara was one. Thus *the sceptre began to depart from Judah*, to make way for the coming of the Messiah.

P 2

Pompey

° Florus, lib. 3. cap. 5. Hierosolymam defendere tentavere Judæi, verum hanc quoque intravit, & vidit illud grande impiæ gentis Arcanum patens, sub aureo vitæ cælo. Livii epitome, lib. 101. Fanum eorum Hierosolymæ inviolatum ante id tempus cepit, Pompeius Judæos subegit. Eutropius, lib. 6. p. m. 65, Pompeius ad Judæam transgressus, Hierosolymam caput gentis tertio mense cepit duodecem, millibus Judæorum occisis, cæteris in fidem acceptis. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 404. Καὶ δὲν ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς ἀγωνίας ἀποῖς ἀέλιον. Aristobulus king of the Jews revolting, Pompey took Jerusalem their most holy city. Besides, Strabo Geographiz, lib. 16. p. 762, 763 and Dion Cassius, lib. 37. p. 41. speak more largely of this affair. ° Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14 cap. 8. De Bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 5. Cicero in Oratione pro Flacco, c. 67. At Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis victor ex illo fano nihil attigit.

Pompey having ordered to rebuild Gadara in favour of Demetrius, his freed man and great favourite; and having taken this city from the Jews, together with Hippon, Seythopolis, Pella, Dion, Samaria, Marissa, Azotus, Jamnia, and Arethusa, he restored them to their former possessors, and ordered Gaza, Joppa, and Dora, otherwise called Straton's tower, to be made sea ports^a, adding all these to the province of Syria, over which he made Scaurus president, leaving him with two legions to keep the country in order. Josephus adds^c, that in a short space of time, there were ten thousand talents exacted of the Jews; all which evils they drew upon themselves, by the unhappy differences of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.

§ 27. Pompey having thus ordered his affairs, returned towards Rome, carrying with him Aristobulus, with Alexander and Antigonus his two sons, and two of his daughters captives, to be led before him in triumph. But Alexander, while on his journey, made his escape, and returned into Judea; where he raised new troubles, as we shall afterwards hear. Pompey, on his return from Syria, came to Amisus in Pontus, where the body of Mithridates was sent to him by Pharnaces his son, with many gifts to procure favour of the conqueror. The gifts Pompey received^c; but as to the dead body, he ordered it to be carried to Sinope, and there decently buried in the sepulchre of his forefathers. At the same time, he took the remaining fortresses and castles which held out there

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8. & de Bell. Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 50.

^b Ibidem. ^c Plutarch in Pompeio. Appian in Mithridaticis, p. 413.

Dion Cassius, lib. 37. p. 40.

there for Mithridates. In some of them he found vast riches, especially at Telsara, where was a wardrobe and storehouse, in which were two thousand cups made of the onyx stone set in gold, with a vast quantity of plate, household goods, furniture for men and horses, so great, that the quæstor of the army employed thirty days in taking up an inventory of them. Pompey having granted to Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus, and declared him a friend and ally to the Roman people, marched into Asia properly so called: where he gave a liberal donative to every soldier of fifteen hundred drachms, and proportionably to all the officers; so as on that occasion he expended sixteen thousand talents, and yet reserved twenty thousand talents, which is reckoned to amount to three million, seven hundred and forty thousand pounds Sterling, to be carried into the public treasury on the day of his triumph, which he affected to have very magnificent.

The same year, of Attia, the wife of Octavius, and daughter of Julia, the sister of Julius Cæsar, was born Octavius Cæsar, who was afterwards adopted by his uncle Julius, and became emperor of the Romans by the name of Augustus. Suetonius tells us, quoting it for the testimony of Julius Marathus, a freed man of Augustus's, who wrote his life, that a few months before the birth of this great emperor, there was an oracle given out, that nature was at that time producing a king who should govern the Roman empire.

After Pompey left Syria, Aretas king of Arabia
P 3 Petraea,

¹ Suetonius in Augusto, cap. 4, 5. ² Ibid. cap. 94. Dion Cassius, lib. 45. p. 306.

Petraea, began again to be troublesome to that province, which obliged Scaurus to march out against him: But he having gone too far into the desert, became straitened for provisions, till Hyrcanus, from Judea, supplied him with what he wanted; and Antipater, by going in an embassy to Aretas, induced him to buy his peace of Scaurus^a for three hundred talents of silver, to the satisfaction of both parties. After this Scaurus being recalled, Marcius Philippus^y was made president of Syria in his room.

Pompey in the spring passed from Ephesus thro' the isles of Greece. At Rhodes he heard the orators declaim, and gave every one a talent. He did the like at Athens to the philosophers^a, and then proceeded to Brundisium in Italy, and so on to Rome; where he dismissed his army, desiring them again to meet on the day of his triumph, fixed upon the day of his birth in the following year, wherein he was forty-five years old. The magnificence of his triumph is described at large by Plutarch^a, Pliny^b, and others^c of the ancients, and out of them by M. Dupin^d. I shall only notice that this triumph continued two days: That in the inscriptions on this occasion, Pompey boasted that he had overcome Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Phœnicia, Palestine, Judea, Arabia, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia: That in these countries he had taken a thousand castles, nine hundred

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 9. ^y Appian in Syriacis, p. 215.

^a Plutarch. in Pompeio. ^d Ibidem ^b Nat. hist. lib. 7. cap. 26. lib.

37. cap. 2. ^c Appian. p. 417,—419. ^d Histoire profane, tom. 2. p. 195.

hundred cities, eight hundred ships of pirates, replenished thirty-nine desolate towns with inhabitants, and greatly increased the revenues of the Roman state. If we narrowly look into this affair, we may observe that the Romans at this time had not only large dominions in Europe and Africa, but also had reduced Asia, even to the borders of Egypt, and to the river Euphrates under their obedience; and the government in many of these countries was brought into order by Pompey. But on the other hand, he was much obliged to those who had gone before him: For Sylla had destroyed the military force of Mithridates; Lucullus had in several battles broken both Mithridates and Tigranes; and I mind that Dion Cassius, who generally speaks well of Pompey, tells, that Lucullus told Pompey on his coming to Asia, "That he had nothing to do there; for Mithridates and Tigranes were already overcome, and were preparing to send ambassadors to the Roman state with their submissions." Accordingly it happened: For this great man had no considerable battle with Mithridates but one, and that in the night time; and as to Tigranes, he made a voluntary submission without stroke of sword. The other places were an easy prey to this prosperous conqueror. It was peculiar to his triumph, that on his entry to the capitol, he did not as others upon the like occasion put any of his captives (who were very many) to death, nor did he leave any of them in prison, except Aristobulus and the young Tigranes, but sent all the rest home upon

^e Dion Cassius, lib. 36 p. 25. ^f See p. 199.

upon the public expence. The other events of Pompey's life will come to be noticed in the progress of this history.

§ 28. While this great general was enlarging the Roman dominions abroad, Rome itself was in great danger of ruin, by a dangerous conspiracy carried on by Sergius Catiline, a patrician by descent, but of a very profligate life; a person daring in his attempts, crafty in his designs, greedy of other men's properties, prodigal of his own, which he had consumed upon his lusts, and thereby run himself in debt, out of which he saw no way to extricate himself but by some desperate attempt. He had been accused of debauching a vestal virgin, and suspected of murdering his own son. He had twice received a repulse while standing for the consulship, and at the last of these had it carried from him by M. Tullius Cicero. Upon mention of this great man, I shall take a little notice of the former part of his life. His father was a Roman knight, his mother was named Helvia. From his youth he was addicted to the study of learning and eloquence, and followed the way of the academic philosophers. Travelling into Greece for his further improvement, he returned to Rome when Sylla had the absolute command in the commonwealth, and did plead the cause of Roscius who had been much wronged by Sylla's proscription: Though he gained his client's suit, yet being afraid of the resentment of Sylla, who spared no man, he retired again into Greece, and there prosecuted his studies under Antiochus of Ascalon

Ascalon at Athens; and thence passed into Asia, where he frequented the lessons of Xenocles the Adrametian, Dionysius the Magnesian, and ^h Menippus the Carian. At Rhodes he studied under Appollonius Molon, the most eloquent man of his time; who wanting Latin, desired Cicero to declaim in Greek, which he willingly performed, and so well, as his auditors gave him great praise: But Apollonius said, "I do indeed wonder at thee; only one thing I am sorry for, that whereas learning and eloquence are the only valuable things left to Greece, these by this young man will be carried to Rome." Cicero returning to Rome in the time of a great dearth, was made quaestor, and had Sicily for his province. Afterwards he declaimed with great eloquence against Verres who had oppressed the Sicilians. He obtained the office of aedilis and also that of praetor; and in both these stations did acquit himself to the satisfaction of good men. And therefore in this dangerous state of the commonwealth, by reason of Catiline's conspiracy, and the Roman legions being abroad in Asia under Pompey, Cicero now being forty-four years of ageⁱ, in the year of Rome 690, he and Caius Antonius were chosen consuls. Catiline being in great rage against them, did in conjunction with Cethegus, Cornelius Lentulus, Sylla, Cinna, and others, conspire to kill the consuls and senate, to set fire to Rome in many places at once, to plunder the treasury, and overturn the commonwealth^k. Worse things than Hannibal ever attempted, and yet contrived by Romans themselves,

^h Plutarch in Cicerone
ribus, in editione Gronovii.

ⁱ Vide Historiam Ciceronis praefixam ejus operibus.
^k Florus, lib 4 cap 2.

themselves, sealing their league with human blood: Though the conspiracy was carried on with great secrecy, yet Cicero had notice of every step of it, by Fulvia, miss to one of the conspirators¹; who assembling the senate, laid the case before them, with such eloquent speeches against Catiline, which are still extant, as made him fly from the city. Whereupon he was declared an enemy to the Roman state. Many of the other conspirators being apprehended, and convicted of the crime by their own letters and several witnesses; when the senate came to deliberate upon their punishment, Julius Cæsar, then a young man of pregnant parts, of whom we shall hear in its proper place, made an eloquent speech; wherein he dissuaded putting the conspirators to death, but advised to confiscate their goods, and confine their persons to some prisons. Cato, called afterwards Uticensis, answered, "That among the ancient Romans, Manlius Torquatus had caused his own son to be put to death, only for fighting the enemy contrary to his command; and if that valiant youth was so severely chastised for his over-hasty courage, shall the present generation hesitate what to decree against the most bloody parricides, and the greatest monsters of mankind?" Cicero also made an oration, which was his fourth upon that occasion, wherein he inclined to Cato's side. Whereupon the senate determined to put the prisoners to death, and the consul saw the sentence executed before the house rose. As for Catiline himself, he was soon after this overtaken by Caius Antonius

¹ Appian. *de Bellis civilibus* lib. 2. operum, p. 710,—715. Dion. Cassius lib. 37. cap. 48,—53.

nus, Cicero's colleague, nigh the Alps, as he was passing into Gaul to complete his levies; where, engaging most obstinately, he was slain in battle, and his men desperately fought it out to the last, scarce any of them remaining to be taken. Thus was this most dangerous conspiracy quashed, chiefly by the vigilance of Cicero the consul. Public thanks were given him for his great care, and at the desire of Cato he was first called *Pater Patriæ*, The father of his country; which title was afterwards borne by the Roman emperors.

§ 29. About this time Julius Cæsar made a great figure in the world, and therefore it is proper to take notice of his rise. Cæsar was of an ancient family. He married Corneliæ the daughter of Cinna, who had been four times consul^m. Of her was born Julia, the daughter of Pompey the Great. While he was very young, he served in the wars under the greatest captains that Rome could then boast of, and also applied himself to learning, studying eloquence under Apollonius Molon at Rhodes: And being both a good scholar, and also having a natural gift of speaking with a lively grace before the people, he was counted the second man in Rome for eloquence in his time; but willingly gave place to the first, because he chose rather to be the first in authority in the state and in the camp, than at the barⁿ. When he was at Rome, by an open and plentiful table, and every other way he endeavoured to make himself popular; which had this effect, that by the suffrage of the people he was soon made *Tribunus militum*,

^m Scuton in Jul. Cæsare, cap. 1.

ⁿ Plutarch, in Jul. Cæsare.

militum, or colonel of a thousand foot, and in a little time went through the offices of quaestor, aedile and praetor^o. Upon the death of Metellus the Pontifex Maximus, he after a great competition prevailed to be chosen in his room. His speech for lenity to Catiline's associates, made some suspect that the high-priest was chief in the conspiracy. About the end of his praetorship he obtained the government of Spain: But having contracted extraordinary debts by his too bountiful way of living, was retarded in his journey by the prosecution of his creditors. Whereupon he was obliged to apply himself to Crassus, a man of vast riches, and also of great wit and eloquence, who became surety to him for 830 talents^p. In this government, Caesar viewing the statue of Alexander the Great at Gades, wept to think that he had done nothing great or memorable in an age when that prince had conquered the world. But in that same expedition he gave sufficient marks of his bravery and desire of glory; for he not only administered justice, but also subdued the Lusitanians, now called the Portuguese, and others who had not been before touched by the Romans, penetrating all the way to the ocean: So as he returned from his province very rich, and his soldiers laden with spoil; who for the love they bore to him gave him the name of Imperator.

Caesar, on his return from Spain, reconciled Pompey and Crassus, and they three entered into a confederacy for the support of the commonwealth^q. This was the first Triumvirate, being a combination

^o Sueton. in Jul. Caesare, cap. 7, 10, 14.

^p Ant. G. lib. II. c. 4.

^q Plutarch in Jul. Caesare.

combination of the three greatest men in Rome, either for military valour, authority or riches; and this laid the foundation of the civil wars which afterwards broke out between Pompey and Cæsar, which ended in the destruction of the old Roman government, changing it from a republic to a monarchy. As long as Crassus lived, he balanced the matter between the other two; but after his death, neither of them being contented with a part, each contended for the whole: The one of them would not bear an equal, nor the other a superior^a.

The time for which Marius Philippus was appointed to govern Syria being expired, Lentulus Marcellinus was sent from Rome to succeed him^b. Both of them had a great deal of trouble created them by the Arabs, who being a thievish sort of people, living mostly upon rapine and plunder, much infested that province during the time of their government.

Julius Cæsar being consul at Rome^c, obliged Bibulus, his colleague, to quit him the administration^d; which he managed with great application for his own interest: For he raised vast sums of money by admitting foreign states into alliance with the Romans, and by granting to foreign kings the confirmation of their crowns. Thus he extorted from Ptolemy Auletes near six thousand talents. That king having only a contested title to the crown of Egypt, of which he was in possession, stood in need of a declaration of the Roman

^a Nec quemquam jam ferre potest Cæsare priorem, Pompeius parem, Lucan. lib. 1. v. 123. ^b Appian. in Syriacis. ^c Ant. C. 59. Hyr. II. 52

^d Nam Bibulo fieri Consule nil memini, Sueton. in Cæsare, cap. 20.

man senate in his favour for strengthening him in that kingdom. To procure this, he paid to Cæsar the sum mentioned, and engaged to give him four thousand more. By these and the like means Cæsar heaped up that treasure which enabled him for his after undertakings. His next step was, that he procured a decree, "That when the year of his consulship should be expired, he should have Illyrium, and both the Gauls, called the Cisalpin and Transalpin, for his province, to govern for five years." He had assigned him an army of four legions to carry with him into his government; and from his entry on it begins his *Commentaries*, or his *History of the War with the Gauls*.

§ 30. A. Gabinius, who had been one of Pompey's lieutenants in the Mithridatic war, being made consul for the ensuing year*, obtained, by the means of Clodius, then tribune of the people, to have the province of Syria assigned to him. This Clodius was of the noble family of the Claudii, a gentleman of great parts, but excessively lewd. Lucullus having married one of his sisters, Clodius attended him in the Mithridatic war; where he lost his favour by his misdemeanours*, especially for corrupting his own sister, the general's wife; and therefore he could not obtain such a post as he expected. At which being displeased, he became the main author of that mutiny in Lucullus's army which made his last campaign ineffectual.

* Sueton. in Cæsar, cap. 54. Appianus de bellis civilibus, lib. 2. p. 717, 718. • Plutarch. in Cæsar. Dion. Cassius, lib. 38. p. 70. • Ant. C. 58. Hyr. II. 8. * Cicero in Oratione pro Domo sua, & pro Sextio. Plutarch. in Cicero.

fectual. For this Clodius being obliged to get out of the general's reach, he fled into Cilicia; where Marcius Rex, governor of that province, made him his admiral. But being vanquished on the coast, and taken prisoner by the pirates, he sent to Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, for money to pay his ransom. Ptolemy, being a niggardly prince, sent him only two talents; which the pirates despising, chose rather to release their prisoner for nothing. Coming to Rome, he followed his old lewd way of living; for he is said to have corrupted two others of his sisters, and also Pompeia, Cæsar's wife. For which she was divorced. Cæsar would not have his wife so much as suspected of adultery¹. Clodius at last was brought to a public trial; where Cicero was one of his witnesses². But, by bribing the judges, the criminal escaped punishment. After this, procuring himself to be adopted a plebeian, he was chosen tribune of the people, and in that office very much disturbed the Roman state: And that he might gain Gabinius, a man as wicked as himself, he procured the province of Syria to be assigned him by the suffrages of the people. Clodius resolving revenge on Ptolemy king of Cyprus, for not sending him money to pay his ransom, and also on Cicero for being evidence against him in his trial, effected both: For he caused a decree to pass the people for seizing Cyprus³, and deposing Ptolemy, the king thereof, bastard-son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and confiscating his goods, without any just cause. 'Tis true, this Ptolemy was a vicious prince, and so

¹ Dion Cassius, lib. 37. p. 56.
Cicero & Lucullo.

² Plutarch. in Cæsare, in Catone Uticensi.
³ Florus, lib. 3 cap. 9.

so niggardly, that he heaped up a great treasure of money, which was the chief thing that made the Romans to seek his ruin; which even V. Paterculus^b reckons a very unjust act, Ptolemy being counted a friend to the Romans, who had never done any thing to deserve this at their hands. However the decree passed for seizing Cyprus, and all that this prince there had; and Cato, called Uticensis, was sent to execute it. This Cato was a very steady, constant, and useful man in the commonwealth: He had served in several stations, as tribune, or colonel, of a thousand foot, as quaestor, and as tribune of the people; but never came to be consul: He attended the senate very diligently, spoke frequently, and pretty long; but was always rather firm to his opinion than to any party, being severe in his manners, and, above all things, professed to hate bribery and partiality. Clodius was keen to send him to Cyprus, though against his inclination^c, that so just a man might give some reputation to this unjust act, but especially that a way might be made for Clodius with more ease to execute his revenge against Cicero. He designed to bring an accusation against him before the people upon this footing, "That while consul he had put to death several who were of Catiline's conspiracy, by the order of the senate only, without bringing them to a legal trial." But foreseeing that he would meet with great opposition from Cato, he contrived to send him on this expedition, and then obtained his design. For though Cicero sued the people with a meanness
below

^b Lib. 2. cap. 45. ^c Plutarch. in Catone Uticensi.

below himself^d, yet he was deserted by the great men of the triumvirate, and banished by the people. And I observe, that Dion Cassius, who seldom speaks well of Cicero, here^e takes a liberty to rip up the faults he thought him guilty of; which I need not repeat, because that orator gets a better character from other historians. Clodius, not content with Cicero's banishment, burnt his houses in the country, and also his house at Rome in the market-place, on which he built a temple to Liberty; and caused his goods to be sold by the crier, but no man was to bid for them. Cicero went to Greece, and there continued, till sixteen months after this he was again recalled, and welcomed by the acclamations of the people. His houses were rebuilt, and his goods restored: So changeable is the state of things. And Clodius, the tribune, was slain by Milo.

Cato coming to Rhodes, sent to Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, to persuade him quietly to yield up his riches, promising him hereon the high-priesthood of Venus, at Paphus^f; but though he was unable to resist the Roman power, he would not accept this offer. He designed once to put his riches and himself in a ship, and, by boring a hole in the vessel, to have sunk the whole to the bottom of the sea. But he could not bear so to part with his gods: And therefore, returning to land, he laid up his treasure^g, but poisoned himself, leaving all that he had to his enemies. All this Cato, the next year, carried to Rome, amounting, ac-

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^d Plutarch. in Cicerone. Appian de bellis civilibus, lib. 2 p. 721.—726.

^e Lib. 38. p. 70, 73, 76. ^f Plutarch in Catone. ^g Varrus Maximus, lib. p. cap 4. Florus & Paternulus, loc. cit.

cording to Plutarch, to seven thousand silver talents. Such a sum had scarce been brought to the treasury by some of the greatest triumphs. While Cato was at Rhodes, in his way to Cyprus, there came thither to him Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt^h, brother to Ptolemy of Cyprus. The reason of his voyage was this: The Alexandrians hearing that the Romans intended to seize Cyprus, they pressed Auletes to demand the same to be restored to Egypt, as an ancient appendant of that kingdom; or, in case of refusal, to declare war against them: Which Ptolemy declining, the Alexandrians, being oppressed with raising the money he demanded to satisfy the great men at Rome, drove him out of the kingdom; and he went to solicit the assistance of the senate for his restoration. Cato blamed him for quitting the honour and happiness he possessed in his own kingdom, and exposing himself to the disgrace of a banished man; telling him plainly, "That though Egypt were to be sold, the purchase-money would not satisfy the great men at Rome for assisting him in his restoration." And therefore advised him to return to Egypt, and make up all differences, offering himself to go and help him. But Ptolemy hearkened to worse adviceⁱ; for he went to Rome, and there, after he had expended vast sums to make the great men favour his cause; when they found that there was no more to be extorted from him, they trumped up an oracle out of the Sibylline books, whereby the Romans were forbidden to give him any help in this case.

In

^h See page 203. ⁱ Plutarch. in Catone Uticensi. Dion Cassius, lib. 39. p. m 108, 109.

In the mean-time the Alexandrians, not knowing what had become of Auletes^a, placed Berenice, his daughter, on the throne, and sent Menelaus Lampon, and Callimander in an embassy to Antiochus Asiaticus in Syria, who, by his mother Selene, was the next heir of the family, to invite him to come into Egypt, and there marry Berenice, and reign with her. But the ambassadors, when they came to Syria, found him just dead: And understanding that Seleucus his brother was still living, the embassy was sent to him with the same proposals; which he readily accepted of. But he being a very sordid, base spirited man (of which he gave proof, by robbing the sepulchre of Alexander, of the golden case in which his body was deposited) Berenice grew soon weary of such a husband^b, and put him to death^c. In him ended the whole race of Seleucus, none of it being any more left to survive the loss of their empire. Berenice afterwards married Archelaus, high-priest of Comana in Pontus.

§ 31. Alexander, the eldest son of Aristobulus, having made his escape while he was carrying prisoner to Rome by Pompey, returned into Judea^m; and having got together an army of 10,000 foot, and 1500 horse, and seized Alexandrion, Machærus, Hyrcania, and several other strong castles, from these he ravaged the whole country. Hyrcanus being too weak to take the field against him, he would have fortified Jerusalem, and rebuilt the

Q 2

walls

^a Dion. Cassius, lib. 39. p. m. 108, 109. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 796. Porphyrius in Græcia Eusebiana. Scaligeri, p. 227. ^b Strabo, lib. 17. p. 796. & lib. 12. p. 558. ^c Ant. C. 57. Hyrcanus II. 2. ^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 20. De bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 6.

walls thereof; but the Romans forbidding him, he was forced to call them to his assistance. Whereupon Gabinus, president of Syria, and M. Antonius, general of the horse under him, came into Judea with a great army for composing these commotions; and being joined by Antipater, Pitholaus and Malichus, with the Jews of Hyrcanus's party, they came to a battle with Alexander near Jerusalem; wherein Alexander being overthrown, with the loss of three thousand men slain, and as many taken prisoners, he fled to Alexandrion, where Gabinus shut him up and besieged him. But that castle being naturally strong, as situated on a rock very high, and also well fortified by art, could not soon be reduced by the engines then in use among the Romans, when the invention of great guns and mortar-pieces was not known. Gabinus therefore leaving a part of his army to block it up, marched with the rest round the country; and finding Samaria, Azotus, Gaza, Raphia, Anthedon, Jamnia, Scythopolis, Apollonia, Dora, Marissa, and several other cities lying in ruins, as demolished in the wars with the Asmonæans, he ordered them all to be repaired, and then returned to the siege of Alexandrion; where repaired to him the mother of Alexander, a wise and discreet woman, who being solicitous for her husband Aristobulus and her children, who were prisoners at Rome, she so favoured the Romans, and so far ingratiated herself with Gabinus, that she obtained every thing of him she desired. By her means a treaty of peace being commenced, Alexander surrendered Alexandrion, and all his other castles: Which being razed to the ground, he

he was dismissed with pardon and impunity for all that was past. After this Gabinus going up to Jerusalem, restored Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood, but made a change in the form of government^a: For he erected five courts independent of each other. The first of them he placed at Jerusalem; the second at Jericho; the third at Gadera; the fourth at Amathus; and the fifth at Sephoris: And under these five cities he divided the land into five provinces, ordering all to repair for justice to those courts, every one in the province where he dwelt, and there to have every thing finally determined.

Towards the latter end of this year, Aristobulus, late king of Judea, who was led in triumph by Pompey, and after that shut up in prison at Rome, having, with his son Antigonus, made his escape thence^b returned into Judea, and there raised new troubles: For great numbers resorted to him; and among them Pitholaus, who on some disgust left Hyrcanus's side, and went over to Aristobulus with a thousand men well armed. Thus Aristobulus having formed a little army, he first rebuilt Alexandrion, and then marching with the rest of his army, consisting of about eight thousand men, towards Machærus, a strong place beyond Jordan, lately demolished, designing to restore and garrison it, as he had done at Alexandrion. But Gabinus, hearing of these things, sent Sisenna his son, with Antonius and Servilius, his lieutenants, against him; who, having overtaken him in his march, forced him to an engagement,

Q 3

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 10. De bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 6.

^b Ibid. cap. 11. Dion. Cassius, lib. 39 p. 130.

ment, and vanquished him, with the slaughter of five thousand of his men. Aristobulus, with about a thousand of his broken forces got to Machærus: But the Romans coming upon them, they were soon over powered. The place being taken after two days resistance, and in it Aristobulus sore wounded, and Antigonus his son, who were both sent back to their former prison at Rome. But Gabinius having informed the senate that he had promised to the wife of Aristobulus, that upon her delivering the castles, her children should be released, it was accordingly done; Antigonus and the rest being allowed to depart into Judea, and Aristobulus only retained in chains.

§ 32. Orodes and Mithridates, sons of Phraates king of Parthia, having impiously killed their father*, could not agree among themselves who should possess his throne^p. Orodes being the elder brother, first filled it: But he was dispossessed by Mithridates, who having made himself odious to the Parthians by his cruelty, Surenas, a man of great power in that kingdom, replaced Orodes on the throne. Mithridates fled, and implored the help of Gabinius, governor for the Romans in Syria; which he, from a prospect of gain, consented to^q: But when he had passed the river Euphrates, Ptolemy Auletes, the deprived king of Egypt, came to him, with letters from Pompey, offering him ten thousand talents to re-establish him again in his kingdom. The reward being great, and the enterprize much less dangerous,

* Ant. C. 56. Hyrc. II. 8. ^p Dion Cassius, lib. 39. p. 130. Appian. in Syriacis. Plutarch. in Crasso. ^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 11.

ous, induced him to undertake the matter; and therefore, quitting his intended expedition against the Parthians, he repassed the Euphrates, and marched through Palestine directly into Egypt. Whereupon Mithridates finding his cause deserted, returned into Babylonia, and there seized Seleucia; where Orodes straitly besieging him, brought him to that distress, that he voluntarily surrendered himself, in hopes of having his life spared by his brother^r. But Orodes looking upon him as his restless enemy, caused him to be slain before his face.

On Gabinus's arrival upon the borders of Egypt, he sent Antony with a body of horse to seize the passes, and open a way for the rest of the army. This was the famous Marc Antony^r, who afterwards, as triumvir, governed one third part of the Roman empire for several years. His grandfather was the famous orator whom Marius killed^r, because he was of Sylla's party. His father was an honest liberal man: His mother was called Julia, of the same family with Julius Cæsar. She, after his father's death, married Cornelius Lentulus, who was put to death in Cicero's consulate, for being in Catiline's conspiracy: Which seems to have been the origin of the cruel hatred between Antony and Cicero. As to this Antony, he was of a comely countenance: But in his youth, being led away into the snare of lustful pleasures by Curio and Clodius, he contracted a great debt of two hundred and fifty talents. Thereupon he left Italy, and went into Greece; where he

^r Justin, lib. 42. cap. 4. ^r Plutarch. in M. Antonio. ^t See p. 169.

he employed his time in the study of eloquence, and afterwards he followed the wars. His first appearance in them was under this Gabinus, and he had a great hand in this expedition into Egypt, from a desire of glory, and to have a share in the ten thousand talents. As he was the chief adviser of the expedition, so he was the most vigorous actor in it: For he not only secured all the passes, but also took Pelusium, which was on that side the key of Egypt, and the taking thereof became an inlet to all the rest of the kingdom. For this success he was much obliged to Hyrcanus and Antipater, who not only assisted the Romans in their march with all necessaries^u, but by letters prevailed with the Jews in the country of Onion, near Pelusium, to be helpful to them. Archelaus was at this time king of Egypt, being called^v thither, after the death of Seleucus Cybiosactes, to marry Berenice and reign with her. He having contracted a friendship with Gabinus, while he served under Pompey, as one of his lieutenants in the Mithridatic war, came out of Pontus into Syria, to visit him on his obtaining that province^w and was there useful to him; and no doubt, it was by the approbation of Gabinus and Antony that he came upon this invitation from Syria into Egypt^x. However all this could not secure him from the invasion. Gabinus being acquainted of Antony's success, marched with his whole army into the very heart of Egypt in the middle of winter; for then the Nile being at the lowest, this country was fittest for an invasion.

Archelaus

^u Jos. ph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 11. & de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 6. ^x See p. 231. ^v Strabo, lib. 11 p. 558. ^w Ant. C. 55. Hyrcanus II 9.

Archelaus omitted nothing that could be done for his defence: But the Egyptians being an effeminate, cowardly sort of people, he could make no work of it with such hands: But being overpowered by the well disciplined troops of the Romans, was at length finally vanquished, and himself slain in battle^a. Antony took care to give him a decent burial: And by this and several other favours done to the Egyptians, sparing them on many occasions, he gained to himself the esteem of that nation. Archelaus being slain, Egypt was soon reduced, and Ptolemy Auletes settled on the throne. Gabinius left some Roman forces to be his guard, who were in a little time corrupted by the effeminacy of the Egyptians. Auletes being restored, put Berenice his daughter to death, for wearing the crown in the time of his exile^a, and cut off many rich men of that party, that by the confiscation of their goods, he might raise the money promised to Gabinius.

The design of the Egyptian expedition being finished, Gabinius found occasion to return to Syria, where had entrusted the government in his absence with Sisenna his son, a youth of neither age nor experience, having only a few troops under his command. Whereupon the thieves and freebooters ravaged the country, and Alexander the son of Aristobulus raised new troubles in Judea; for having gathered together an army, he ravaged the land, and slew all the Romans he could find, driving the rest to take refuge in mount Gerizzim, where he besieged them. There
Gabinius

^a Dion Cassius, lib. 39. p. 131. Plutarch. in Antonio. ^a Strabo, lib. 17. p. 796. Livii Epit. lib. 105.

Gabinus found him; and observing the number of his enemies to be great, he sent Antipater, to endeavour by promises of oblivion and impunity to reduce them, who prevailed with many of them to desist from their revolt, and return to their houses^b. Alexander having still about him an army of thirty thousand men appointed for war, resolved to encounter Gabinus; but after a fierce battle near mount Tabor, he was defeated with the loss of ten thousand men killed, and the rest put to flight. After this Gabinus went up to Jerusalem, where having settled his affairs, according to the mind of Antipater, he led back his army into Syria, and prepared to return to Rome.

§ 33. Pompey and Crassus being this year consuls a second time, on entering to their office, they obtained a decree of the Roman people, that Spain and Africa should be assigned to Pompey for five years, and Syria with the neighbouring countries to Crassus for the like time^c; with full authority to take with them such forces as they should think fit, and make war wherever they should see cause. Hereon Crassus sent to receive the government of Syria from Gabinus, who did not quit the province till he was commanded to do it by the people and senate of Rome. Gabinus had been a very corrupt governor in his province^d, doing every thing for bribes, and selling every thing for money. This clamour came to Rome, which exasperated the senate against

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 11.

^c Dion. Cassius, lib. 39. p. 132.

Livii Epit. lib. 105. Appian. in Parthidis p. 218. ^d Cicero in oratione de Provinciis Consularibus.

gainst him, and especially because he had undertaken the expedition into Egypt contrary to the law forbidding any governor to go out of his province, or to undertake any new war, without express orders from the senate and people of Rome; and therefore, upon his return, actions were commenced against him for treason, corruption, bribery and other high misdemeanors. He escaped as to the first^e, by bribing the judges. Pompey and Crassus stood his friends; but he was cast in the other actions^e, and sent into banishment, where he lived in poverty, till Cæsar brought him back again in the time of the civil wars^e, in which he died. Most of the money, which he had raked together by corruption and oppression, was spent in bribing his judges, that he might escape the punishment he deserved. He having been consul when Cicero was banished, this orator being now returned home, aggravated his crimes to the utmost, in his speeches both to the senate and people.

Pompey staid for most part about Rome, notwithstanding the new commission given him, but Crassus was very busy towards the end of his consulship in lifting soldiers, and making preparations for his eastern expedition, in which he perished. But before I bring him to his death, it is proper to give some short account of his life. Marcus Licinius Crassus was the son of a censor, who had received the honour of a triumphⁿ. He married his brother's widow. His father and brother were

^e Cicero ad Atticum, lib. 4. Epist. 16. Operum, p. m. 895 & ad Quintum fratrem, lib. 3 Ep. 4. Operum, p. 1036. ^f Dion Cassius lib. 39. p. 133, 134. ^g Hirtius de bello Alexandrino. cap. 43. ^h Plutarch in Crasso.

killed by the cruel orders of Marius; he himself being then a young man, fled to Spain, where a friend of his called Vibius, kept him hid in a cave eight months. When he returned to Rome, and began to set up in the world, he was worth but three hundred talents, which comes to 280,000 crowns, but was always set on making gain, by buying houses consumed with fire, building and letting them, keeping many slaves at work, and every other way. So that in end he became very rich; for when he took the inventory of his goods, before he left Rome to go against the Parthians, he found the value of his money and effects amounted to 7100 talents, that is, 4,260,000 crowns, thinking no man rich who could not maintain an army out of his own proper effects. Adhering to the interest of Sylla, he did him considerable service in Africa, and shewed military valour in defeating Spartacus, and the army of gladiators which he had raised; of which before¹. At Rome he affected to be popular, keeping an open table: And having a good deal of eloquence to defend any cause, and to speak in public, he obtained most of the considerable posts in the commonwealth; but especially after he had joined in friendship with Pompey and Cæsar. Being now consul a second time, and sixty years of age, he became wonderfully fond of his eastern expedition, boasting among his familiars, that he would do more than either Lucullus or Pompey had done before him; for he would conquer the Bactrians and Indians, and extend the Roman conquests

¹ See page 193, 196.

quests* to the eastern ocean. But when his design against the Parthians was noised abroad, Attatius, then one of the tribunes of the people, desired to have his commission reversed: But not being able to effectuate it, he turned his endeavours into curses and dreadful execrations; which were soon verified. Crassus was no sooner gone into Syria, than he set himself upon every method of heaping up money. Being told of the riches in the temple at Jerusalem, he marched thither with a party of his army to make seizure thereof*. Eleazar, one of the priests, then treasurer of the temple, had among other things under his custody a bar of gold¹ weighing three hundred Minæ. For securing whereof, he had enclosed it in a beam of timber, made hollow within, and placed the beam over the entrance to the holy of holies, causing the veil to be hung thereon. Perceiving Crassus's design to plunder the temple, Eleazar offered to deliver this bar of gold to him, on condition that he would spare all the rest; which Crassus by a solemn oath promised to do. Whereupon the beam, with the wedge of gold was delivered to him; which he no sooner received, than perfidiously forgetting his oath, he not only seized the two thousand talents which Pompey had left in the temple untouched, but also robbed the temple of every thing else, which he thought worth taking away, to the value of eight thousand talents more; which in all is above two millions Sterling money. Josephus confirms

* Plutarch in Crasso. Appian. in Parthia p. 259. * Ant. C. 34. Hyrcanus II. 10. ¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 22. de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 6.

firm the truth of this ^m, by the testimony of Strabo the Cappadocian, whose history is now lost, and says, "It is no wonder that the Jews had so great a sacred treasure, since all their nation scattered in Asia, Africa and Europe, sent their gifts to the temple." ^z

Crassus, with this treasure, besides what he had before, thinking himself sufficiently furnished for the Parthian war, caused a bridge of boats to be made over the Euphrates, and forthwith marched over it, having no other cause for the war, but an insatiable thirst after the riches of the country ⁿ. The Parthians not expecting such an invasion, were at that time not prepared to withstand it; whereupon he over-ran a great part of Mesopotamia, and took many cities without opposition, and might have made greater progress; but the summer being spent, he returned and put his army into winter quarters in Syria. Whereas he should rather have staid on the other side of the Euphrates, in some of the cities he had won, to exercise his army, and to hinder the preparations of his enemies. But Crassus in the winter neglected the discipline of his army, and rather acted the part of a gatherer of taxes, than of a good officer, using all methods of exaction in order to enrich himself, committing sacrilege on the heathen temples of his own religion, as well as on that of the Jews, particularly at Hierapolis, where there was a great treasure laid up in the temple of the goddess Atargatis, all of which he seized ^o, spending a great deal

^m Joseph. *Antiq lib* 14. cap. 12. de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 6. ⁿ Dion Cassius lib. 40. p. 140. ^o Ant. C. 53. ^p Plutarch in Crasso. Appian. in Parthicus, p. 223.

deal of time in seeing it told and weighed. In the beginning of the spring, he gathered together his army for prosecuting the war against the Parthians, who had by this time got ready a sufficient army for their own defence. But before they entered on action, Orodes sent ambassadors to Crassus, to see for what reason he made war upon him: To which he gave no other answer, "but that he would tell him when he came to Seleucia his capital city." Indeed it was hard to give a sufficient reason: For neither had Crassus a particular order from the Roman senate to engage in it, nor any just cause. Vagises, one of the ambassadors shewed him the palm of his hand, saying briskly, "Hair would sooner grow there, than you shall come thither." While the Romans were on their march, the report of the great army of the Parthians, filled the camp with fear; and Cassius (the same who was afterwards an actor in the murder of Julius Cæsar, and the second person in the army) exhorted the general to consider the matter, before he would proceed further. At the same time Artavasdes king of Armenia, who had lately succeeded his father Tigranes, came to Crassus with a life-guard of six thousand horse, and told him he had ten thousand curiassiers, and thirty thousand foot more for his service, and withal advised him not to take his way into the Parthian dominions through the plains of Mesopotamia, but through Armenia, because the Parthian horse, which was the strength of their army, could do him more prejudice on the plains, than on

on a hilly country: Besides, in these plains, the Romans would meet with sandy deserts; where they would be distressed for want of water and other necessaries. But Crassus having left seven thousand men in some towns of Mesopotamia, would needs go that way. As to Artavasdes's auxiliaries, though Crassus accepted the offer, yet they never came to him: For Orodes having a great army on his borders, he judged it better to cover his own country, than to support the Romans, who he saw were devoted to destruction. Besides, an Arabian captain, whom Plutarch ^a calls Ariamnes, Florus names him ^b Mezeres, and Ap-
 .pian ^c designs him Acbarus, a cunning false fellow, with flattering speeches deceived Crassus, leading him and his whole army of fifty thousand men into a sandy desert, and then acquainted the Parthians, that they might have the best advantage in the world to destroy them. Surenas, general of the Parthians, approached with his army, and a bloody battle was fought; wherein the Parthian horsemen sometimes counterfeiting a flight, drew out the Romans, who were unacquainted with their way to the pursuit, then returning, galled the pursuers with showers of arrows, and soon defeated them. Publius Crassus, the general's son, with great numbers of the Romans were slain, the rest were forced to fly to Carræ (the ancient Haran of the holy scriptures :) Thence Crassus endeavouring to escape, committed himself to the conduct of another traitor, who led him into the midst of bogs and morasses, where he was over-
 taken

^a In Crasso. ^b Florus, lib. 3. cap. 11. ^c P. 119.

taken by Surenas and killed*. This defeat was the greatest blow that the Romans had ever sustained since the battle of Cannæ: For here they had twenty thousand men slain, and ten thousand taken prisoners*. Cassius made his escape with about five hundred horse back into Syria, by a valiant and well conducted retreat. The rest of the Romans, who survived this overthrow, fled several ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria, and gathered together an army under Cassius in Syria, whereby he became able to preserve that province from falling into the hands of the Parthians. Artabazes king of Armenia, called also Artavazdes, finding the Romans on the losing side, compounded all matters with Orodes, and gave one of his sisters to Pacorus the son of Orodes in marriage. While they were at the nuptial feast, a messenger presented Orodes with the head and hand of Crassus, which much increased their joy; and 'tis said* that they poured melted gold into the decollated head by way of mockery, as if they would this way satiate his thirst after this metal. However, Surenas did not long rejoice in his victory: For Orodes envying him the glory thereof, caused him to be put to death, though he was the first man for wisdom, wealth and authority in all his dominions.

§ 34 The Parthians expecting, after this defeat, to find Syria void of defence, made an incursion into that country: But Cassius, on his escape, having got together an army, gave them such a

* ——— Misericordia sumere Crassus. *Assyria Latro maculavit sanguine Carras.* Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 2 v. 105. Appianus, p. 258. Plutarch. in Crass. * Florus, lib. 3, cap. 21. Dion Cassius, lib. 40. p. 142.

warm reception*, that they were forced to repass the Euphrates[†] with a disappointment. After this Cassius went to Tyre, and having settled all matters on that side of the province, he marched into the country of Judea, and there besieged Tarichæa, a city on the southren shore of the lake of Genesareth, where Pitholaus had shut himself up with the remainder of Aristobulus's faction, to which he had lately revolted[‡]. Cassius having taken the place, carried the Jews whom he found therein, to the number of three thousand, into slavery; only he put to death Pitholaus, by the advice of Antipater. After this having forced Alexander the son of Aristobulus to terms of peace, he marched to the Euphrates, to oppose the Parthians, who were preparing to make another invasion into Syria.

M. Calpurnius Bibulus had Syria, and M. Tullius Cicero had Cilicia assigned to them for their provinces[§]. Bibulus was the same who had been consul with Julius Cæsar. He went not soon to his charge, but Cassius continued to govern Syria for him; and it was well for the Roman interest that he did so; for he was a more able man for such a trust. Cicero went soon to his province with an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, according to Plutarch^{||}. He brought Cappadocia again to submit to Ariobarzanes. In the spring, Pacorus the son of Orodes, came into Syria with a Parthian army, conducted by Osaces an experienced general, who shut up Cassius in Antioch. Cicero having notice thereof,

* Ant. C. 53 Hyrcanus II. 12. † Dion Cassius, lib. 40. p. 149. ‡ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 6. § Dion Cassius, lib. 40. p. 149. Plutarch. in Cicerone. † Ant. C. 51. || Plutarch in Cicerone.

thereof, by Antiochus king of Commagena, march-
ed with all his forces to cover Cappadocia^c and
also to assist Cassius in time of need. At the same
time he sent other troops to mount Amanus, who
fell in with a party of Parthian horse and cut them
off. The news of these things encouraged Cassius
and his men, and so frightened the Parthians, that
they raised the siege of Antioch, and sat down
before Antigonina, where they had no better suc-
cess, being very unskilful in besieging cities, and
therefore marched off. Cassius in their retreat
drew them into an ambush, and gave them a great
defeat^d, slaying great numbers of their men, and
among others Osaces their general: Whereupon
the Parthian army repassed the Euphrates and re-
turned home. In the mean time Bibulus being
come into his province, Cassius delivered to him
the government, and returned to Rome. Cicero
hearing of the departure of the Parthians, fell up-
on the inhabitants of mount Amanus, who had
never submitted to the governors of those provin-
ces, and totally subdued them, taking their castles^e,
and destroying their strong holds. He also sub-
dued another sort of barbarous people called Eleu-
thero-Cilices, or free Cilicians, to the great satis-
faction of their neighbours, to whom they were
a constant plague. Upon this, Cicero was saluted
Imperator by the army, and was applauded by all
the people of the province, whom he reduced to
a more just and quiet way of living, than had been
done before. Then he prepared to return to
Rome, by the way visiting Rhodes and Athens,

R 2

where

^c Cicero ad familiares, lib. 15. epist. 2.—4.

^d Livii epitome, lib. 108.

^e Plutarch, in Cicero.

where many learned men were fond to wait on him. When he came to the city, a triumph was offered to him: But the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey being then ready to break out, he waved this honour, saying, "I would rather, on condition that parties were agreed, follow Cæsar's triumphal chariot, than ride in one myself." *but*

This year died Ptolemy Auletes king of Egypt^a, leaving behind him two sons, and two daughters. By his will he ordered the eldest of his sons, and the eldest of his daughters to be married together, according to the detestable custom of their family, and both jointly to govern the Egyptian kingdom: And because they were at this time young, Cleopatra the eldest of them being then but seventeen, he committed them to the tuition of the Roman state. This was that Cleopatra who was afterwards so famous for her amours with Mark Anthony the Roman triumvir.

§ 35. We left Julius Cæsar when he had got a decree of the senate in his favour, assigning him Illyricum and both the Gauls, for his province for five years^b: I shall now offer a short account of what he did by virtue of this commission before the breaking out of the civil wars. The provinces allotted to him, besides Illyricum, or that country now called Dalmatia, contained all that space of land that is now called France, with a great part of the Low Countries, and some of Germany, and the Cisalpine Gaul, which comprehended a good part of Italy on the other side of the Alps. Dion Cassius^c, when entering on this affair, owns, "That

^a Ptolemyus Astronomus in Canone. Cicero ad familiares, lib. 8. epist.

^b Cæsar de bello civili, lib. 3. ^c See p. 226. ^d Lib. 38. p. 87.

"That the whole of Gaul was then very quiet, but Cæsar did not design to let them live in peace, and so one war rose out of another, that he might have occasion of victory." But to go on with our history: Cæsar, in his first campaign, in the year of Rome 696, passed the Alps with great expedition, and arrived at Geneva in the spring; where finding that the Helvetians, now called Switzers, were marching into Gaul, to the number of three hundred thousand people of all sorts, he pursued, attacked, and entirely defeated them, scarce one hundred and ten thousand remaining alive of their whole number, their wives and children desperately fighting among the carriages till they were all cut to pieces. He crowned this victory with a more glorious action, gathering all who had escaped, and sending them home in safety to their own countries. The same year he fought with Ariovistus, a king of the Germans, who had invaded the Sequanians, dwelling in the country now called Franche Comte, where they expelled the former inhabitants, and committed horrid cruelties. Cæsar attacked and routed them, closely pursuing them to the river Rhine, and killing about eighty thousand*, Ariovistus himself narrowly escaping in a boat. This being done, he put his army into winter quarters. The next year, Cæsar being informed of a confederacy against the Romans by the Belgæ, he marched into Flanders, and there fought with them as they were plundering his allies, and killed so many of

them,

* Cæsar de bello Gallico, lib. 1. p. 10, — 13. edit. in usum Delphini, Eord. 1719. * Plutarch in Jul. Cæsare. Cæsar, de bello Gallico, lib. 1. cap. 53, 54. Dion Cassius, lib. 38. p. 89, — 102.

them, that marshes and rivers were passable to the Romans by the prodigious number of the dead bodies of their enemies¹. The same year he defeated the Nervians, a warlike people in those parts, though with considerable loss and danger to the Roman army. Then he passed into Italy, and wintered in Savoy, that he might more easily over-rule the election of magistrates and other things that were a-doing at Rome; and the Romans complimented him so far as to order sacrifices to the gods, and solemn festivals for fifteen days together, upon account of his victories^m.

In his third campaign, in the year of Rome 698, Caesar sent out Sergius Galba, one of his lieutenants, with the twelfth legion and part of the cavalry, against the Antuates, Veragri and Seduni, nations seated between the river Rhone and the Alps, in order to clear a passage, and secure traffic in those parts. Galba in a short time defeated a great party of them, who were so bold as to attack him in his campⁿ. Caesar finding that the Veneti, and several others in that part of Gaul called Celtica, had revolted, he turned his forces against them. But they gave him a great deal of trouble: For by reason of their naval strength, they shifted from place to place. At last Caesar having fitted out a fleet, attacked the Veneti by sea, and overthrew them. Crassus, one of his lieutenants, (I take him to be the same Publius Crassus whom Caesar sent to assist Crassus his father in the east, and who was there killed^o, fighting against the Parthians)

¹ Dion Cassius, lib. 38. p. 89, — 102, & lib. 39. ab initio. ^m Caesar, de bello Gallico lib. 2. Dion Cassius, p. 105. ⁿ Id. ibid. Caesar, de bello Gallico, lib. 3. ^o Scip. 244. — 28. 7. 82. (of Julius) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) (12) (13) (14) (15) (16) (17) (18) (19) (20) (21) (22) (23) (24) (25) (26) (27) (28) (29) (30) (31) (32) (33) (34) (35) (36) (37) (38) (39) (40) (41) (42) (43) (44) (45) (46) (47) (48) (49) (50) (51) (52) (53) (54) (55) (56) (57) (58) (59) (60) (61) (62) (63) (64) (65) (66) (67) (68) (69) (70) (71) (72) (73) (74) (75) (76) (77) (78) (79) (80) (81) (82) (83) (84) (85) (86) (87) (88) (89) (90) (91) (92) (93) (94) (95) (96) (97) (98) (99) (100) (101) (102) (103) (104) (105) (106) (107) (108) (109) (110) (111) (112) (113) (114) (115) (116) (117) (118) (119) (120) (121) (122) (123) (124) (125) (126) (127) (128) (129) (130) (131) (132) (133) (134) (135) (136) (137) (138) (139) (140) (141) (142) (143) (144) (145) (146) (147) (148) (149) (150) (151) (152) (153) (154) (155) (156) (157) (158) (159) (160) (161) (162) (163) (164) (165) (166) (167) (168) (169) (170) (171) (172) (173) (174) (175) (176) (177) (178) (179) (180) (181) (182) 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Parthians) in the meantime subdued the greatest part of Aquitaine. Towards the end of the campaign, Cæsar marched against the Morini and Menapii, a people near Calais; but the season being too far advanced, the rain and foul weather secured them in their forests and marshes, and the Romans went into winter-quarters.

In the fourth campaign Cæsar was employed against several nations in Germany, who to the number of about four hundred thousand came over the Rhine into Gaul^p. After a treaty with them, finding that their engagements by solemn leagues were not to be trusted, he fell upon them, and cut most of them off. Then with incredible industry, he caused erect a wooden bridge over the Rhine, over which he marched with his army into Germany; and having settled his affairs there, and terrified his enemies, he returned by the same way in eighteen days, breaking down the bridge behind him. After this Cæsar crossed the seas into Britain^q, with some of his legions, being the first of the Romans who ever ventured so far this way. But he rather shewed the country to the Romans, than subdued it: For after burning a few towns, and defeating some parties of the Britons, he returned to take up his winter-quarters in Gaul. Thence he passed to Rome, where the senate and people prorogued his commission over Illyricum and both the Gauls for five years longer, though Dion Cassius^r says, it was only three years.

In his fifth campaign, in the year of Rome 700, being

^p Plutarch in Jul. Cæsare. Cæsar, de bello Gallico, lib. 4. ^q Cæs. ibid. c. 26. — 36. ^r Dion. Cassius lib. 39. p. 118.

being fifty-one years before the birth of Christ, Caesar resolved upon a second expedition into Britain, and made necessary preparations for it, the natives having given him a fair pretence by breaking their articles with him. Embarking at Calais with five legions and two thousand horse, he landed in this island without opposition, and marched against Cassivelaun^c, general of the British forces, whom he defeated after a bloody battle; which so terrified his enemies, that they durst not appear in a body before him; whereupon Caesar advancing still further, passed the Thames. Cassivelaun, finding that several towns had surrendered to the Romans, sent to Caesar for a treaty; who received his submission, took hostages, and imposed a certain tribute upon Britain. Then observing the season to be far advanced, and apprehending the danger of tumults in Gaul, he returned with his successful army. Ambiorix, with a considerable number of Gauls, had set upon Cotta and Triarius, two of Caesar's lieutenants, and killed them; and was going forward to attack the garrison commanded by Q. Cicero in Hainault. But Caesar having notice thereof, marched with great expedition, relieved Cicero, and put Ambiorix to flight.

Caesar, in his sixth campaign, understanding that Gaul was disposed to a revolt, strengthened his army with three Roman legions, and as many auxiliaries as he could procure; and in this and the two following years reduced all the revolters, defeated Vercingetorix and a great army of his enemies,

^c Caesar, de bello Gallico, lib. 5. Dion Cassius, lib. 39. p. 117.

inter, taking their leader prisoner. Thus having subdued and settled his whole province, he prepared to march into Italy. Orosius here cries out, "How pale might Gaul be with the loss of so much blood for her dear liberty!" "It is true, Caesar hath a great character for his actions given him by heathen authors: For as Plutarch tells us, "In less than ten years war in Gaul, he took by force above eight hundred towns, conquered three hundred several nations, fought with thirty hundred thousand men, of whom ten hundred thousand were killed, as many taken prisoners, and he was so entirely beloved of his soldiers, that in his service they were invincible." He was but of a tender constitution of body, of a lean, white, soft-skinned complexion, and subject to some fits of an epilepsy; yet endured incredible fatigue. Most nights he slept in his chariot, would dictate letters as he rode by the way, and frequently employed two secretaries at once. But after all, what were these wars, save only horrid depredations and robberies, committed on the Gauls and Britons, who were no way molesting the Romans? And may we not observe, that Rome, who, by her great men and victorious armies, shed the blood of so many nations, bereaving them of their liberties, was soon oppressed herself, losing her own liberties with much of her blood?"

§ 36. This leads me to the civil wars, which made so great a revolution in the Roman republic. Julia, the daughter of Caesar, and wife of Pompey, being dead, and also her child, the friendship

ship between Caesar and Pompey began to cool. Crassus, while he lived, had kept a balance; but he being killed by the Parthians, as hath been already related, the triumvirate was dissolved. At Rome factions daily increased, and all officers were purchased with bribes and money, or else with swords and blows. Pompey, since his triumph for his victories in Asia, had remained during the space of twelve years for most part at Rome: Notwithstanding he had obtained a large commission to govern the provinces of Spain and Africa, he liked better to manage affairs in the city, where he affected to be perpetual dictator. Besides, in the time of his second consulship, he got his own province continued for four years, with an allowance of a thousand talents out of the treasury^{*}; and he preferred two laws, which were agreed to, viz. "To enquire into the miscarriages of officers for twenty years last past;" and, "To forbid all absent persons to demand any public employment." Both which were designed against Caesar. And it was proposed to send a successor to him in his government[†]; Which he refused to comply with, unless Pompey should also demit his charge. Caesar had now raised himself to an extraordinary height, both as to riches and reputation: His unbounded generosity and noble actions had entirely engaged the affection of his soldiers almost to adoration; a great many of the senators also stood obliged to him for money lent almost without interest: Which occasioned the observation, "That Caesar had conquered Gaul with the Roman steel, and

^{*} Plutarch. in Pompeio. [†] Livii Epitome, lib. 109.

and the Romans with the Gallic gold." His army was a receptacle to criminals and insolvent debtors, which made him many friends. Caesar then finding that his government was ready to be taken from him, and that the consulship, which he had sued for, was denied him, he past the Rubicon, which separates the Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, and took Ariminum with his army, resolving to march to the city: For now the dye was cast; having passed out of his province without orders from the senate, he must go forward^a. While he was on his march^b; Pompey with all his party, left Rome, and hastened to Brundisium; and on the 3d of January, in the forty-ninth year before the birth of Christ^c, sailed towards Epirus; where he resolved to make a stand: For which Caesar allowed him a whole year's time. Pompey being gone, Caesar, having reduced all Italy in sixty days time, came to Rome. There he comforted the people with promises of doing all things for the good of the commonwealth^d. He released out of prison Aristobulus, king of Judea, and sent him with two legions into his own country, to promote his interest there^e, and in the neighbouring parts of Syria, Phœnicia and Arabia. But those of Pompey's party found means to give him poison by the way, whereof he died. His body was preserved with honey, and afterwards buried in the sepulchre of his fathers by order of Mark Anthony. And whereas Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, had, in expectation

^a Plutarch in Cæsare. ^b Appian, de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 739. & seq. ^c Ant. Q. 49. Hyrc. 11. 15. ^d Dion Cassius, lib. 41. p. 190. ^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 13. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 7.

Servilius Ilauricus were declared consuls ^a for the following year. And immediately after that, he hastened to Brundisium, where he had prepared a fleet, in which he had embarked seven of his legions; and safely passing the Adriatic, landed them near the promontory Cerdunium. He sent back Calenus, one of his lieutenants, with the fleet to bring over the rest; but several months passed before Mark Anthony, who had the command of them, found opportunity of a safe passage, by reason of Pompey's ships, which had beset all these coasts, ^b to intercept them. By this time Pompey had got together a considerable army out of Greece, Asia, and all the eastern countries to support his interest: But it being the winter-season, both parties lay still in their quarters. ^c When the spring approached ^d, both armies took the field, and encamped near Dyrrachium, now called Durazzo. In several skirmishes Caesar had the better; but in one he sustained the loss of two thousand men; so as himself acknowledged he had then been undone, if his adversary had improved the advantage. Revolving in his mind the bad state of his affairs, he saw that he had committed a great error, by encamping against Pompey near the sea, where his enemies had a strong fleet to furnish their army with all necessaries, which he wanted; and therefore next day he decamped, and marched towards Thessaly, where he had plenty of all things. There he waited to give

^a Plutarchus in Cesare. Cesare de bello civili, lib. 3. ab initio Appianus, p. 751. ^b Plutarchus in Cesare & in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 41. p. 196. ^c Ant. C. 43. Hyrc. 11. 5. ^d Plutarchus in Pompeio, & in Cesare. Appian. p. 765.

Pompey battle; or to intercept Scipio, whose daughter being now married to Pompey, and he being president of Syria (as hath been told) oppressed that country, to raise money in order to equip a fleet, and raise forces, with which he was going to assist his son-in-law. But Caesar did not meet with Scipio till the decisive action at Pharsalia. Pompey and Scipio having joined, they made up an army of forty-five thousand foot, and five thousand horse. But they were most of them raw, unexperienced men, got together out of the effeminate nations of Asia, and some Roman senators and other gentlemen, who knew very little of war. Caesar, on the other hand, had an army of twenty-two thousand foot, and one thousand horse, for most part veteran soldiers, who had been trained the space of ten years with war and victory in Gaul. In Pompey's army there were many young Roman knights, who observing Caesar retire to Thessaly, made an outcry against their general as a coward, who would not fight his adversary when flying from him. Pompey therefore marched, and both armies engaged in the famous battle of Pharsalia. Caesar's left wing was commanded by Mark Anthony, his right wing by himself, and his centre by Domitius Calvinus. Pompey placed himself on the right wing, Domitius Aenobarbus commanded the left, and Scipio, his father-in-law, the centre. When the action began to be warm, the young Roman knights could not abide the darts of their enemies falling on their faces, but soon fled and disordered the whole

whole battle. Pompey himself went off to his tent; where finding his camp lost as well as his army, he put off his robes and fled in disguise. There were fifteen thousand on Pompey's side slain, and twenty-four thousand made prisoners of war, according to Caesar's account in his *Commentaries*¹: But Plutarch^m and Appianⁿ tell only of six thousand slain. Caesar, after the victory, shewed abundance of discretion; for he put most of the soldiers taken into his own legions. He pardoned men of note, of whom Brutus was one, who afterwards killed his generous^o conqueror; and he burnt all the letters and the like papers taken from the prisoners; by which, if he had pleased, he might have discovered the whole combination at Rome against himself.

Pompey fled very privately to the Thessalian shore, where he took a little boat; and rowing along the coast, found a large ship, commanded by Peticius, a Roman; who knowing Pompey, received him, and those who were with him into his vessel. There he sent for Cornelia, his wife, and Sexsus, his younger son, who, coming to him, bewailed their hard fortune. Hearing that Cato had gathered together a part of his broken army, and put them aboard of his fleet, which was still safe, he observed several errors which he had committed in leaving his advantageous camp within sight of his fleet, and following Caesar into Thessaly. But now there was no remedy. He resolved once to land in Syria^a, and seize that province, hoping

¹ Caesar de bello civili, p. m. 337. ^m Plutarch. in Cesare, & in Pompeio. ⁿ Appian. p. 785. ^o Plutarch. in Cesare. ^p Dion Cassius, lib. 41. in fine. ^a Caesar de bello civili, lib. 3.

there for better support, and particularly for the friendship of Ordes, king of Parthia. But he hearing of Pompey's misfortune, clapped up his ambassador; neither he nor the Syrians having any inclination to engage in a lost cause. Pompey therefore steered his course towards Egypt; where having been a friend to Ptolemy Anletes, father to the king who now reigned, (for, by Pompey's advice, Gabinius had restored that prince to his throne) he therefore expected kindness from his son. The king of Egypt was then at war against Cleopatra, his own wife and sister, near Pelusium. When Pompey sent messengers to desire his protection, Theodotus of Chio advised that they should suffer Pompey to come ashore, but immediately kill him: For (said he) this will make Caesar your friend, and prevent the other from doing you hurt. Dead men cannot bite. This being resolved upon, Achilles, with Septimius, a Roman officer, then in the service of Egypt, and a few more were sent to see it executed; who, so soon as Pompey came to the shore, fell upon him, slew him with their swords, and cut off his head. His wife, with the people in Peucolus's ship, beholding this sad event, gave a fearful cry: But, seeing themselves in danger, hoisted sail and went off. Pompey's dead body being cast upon the sand, had no other funeral, than what Philip, an enfranchised bondman of his, now a poor old Roman, who came there by accident, could give, by making a funeral pile of the broken pieces of an old boat. Thus ended the life of this great man, in the fifty-ninth

Plutarch in Pompeii, & in Bruto.

ninth year of his age. No person had ever greater prosperity, till he profaned the temple of God at Jerusalem; after that his fortune declined, till he was brought to this pitiful end. Achilles and Pothinus, the executioners of this murder were afterwards put to death by Caesar: And Theodotus the rhetorician who advised it, escaping Caesar's hands, wandered up and down Egypt, till Marcus Brutus met him in Asia, and there, after putting him to many torments, killed him. Many of Pompey's ships were taken, and all who were found in them were cruelly put to death; among whom was Lucius Lentulus^c, who had been consul the former year, and who was the chief author of the war, by obstinate rejecting all the proposals made by Caesar for peace.

§ 37. Caesar pursuing Pompey, came to Alexandria. Just as the news arrived of his death, he was presented with the head and ring of the deceased. He received the ring, but would not look on the head; yea, pretending to be sorry for his death, ordered it to be buried with honourable solemnities. On his coming to Alexandria, Caesar had no more with him than eight hundred horse, and three thousand two hundred foot, having left the rest of his army behind him in the Lesser Asia and in Greece. These being scarce sufficient to defend him from the mutinies of that turbulent city, he narrowly escaped perishing in them. Coming thither in the beginning of July, at which season the Etesian, or trade winds, blow in upon the shore, he was under a

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^c Caesar de bello civili, lib. 3. ^e Ibid.

necessity to tarry that season. In his vacant time he employed himself in calling in a debt owing him by Ptolemy Auletes, and in determining the controversy between the present king and Cleopatra ^u his sister. We have before observed, that Auletes in Cæsar's first consulship gave him six thousand talents ^v, and engaged to pay him four thousand more, for being confirmed in his kingdom, and enrolled among the friends and allies of the Roman state. Cæsar now having occasion for the money, exacted it with rigour; which Pothinus, prime minister in Egypt, made appear to be greater than it was, causing the king and his court eat in earthen and wooden dishes, pretending that all the gold and silver were given to pay the debt owing to Cæsar, to irritate the people ^w against him: But that which most exasperated them, was, Cæsar's giving orders to Ptolemy and Cleopatra to dismiss their armies, and bring their cause to be judged before him, the Roman state being left guardians to them ^x when children. Cleopatra, when her cause came to be heard, understanding that Cæsar was given to amours, resolved to catch him that way; for she prayed that she might be allowed to plead her own cause. Which being granted, she caused herself to be trussed up with her bedding on the back of Apollodorus one of her servants ^y. The servant came straight to Cæsar's lodging, laid down and untied his burden at his feet, and up started the fair lady. Cæsar being wonderfully pleased

^u Cæsar de bello civili, lib. 3. & Dion Cassius, lib. 41 p. 213. ^x See page 225, 226. ^v Plutarch in Cæfare. ^w See page 248. ^y Plutarch in Cæfare.

pleased and smitten by her beauty, enjoyed her that same night, and had a son by her, afterwards called Cæsarion. Next morning he sent for Ptolemy, and desired him to receive his sister upon her own terms. Ptolemy finding that Cæsar, instead of being her judge, was become her advocate, and that she was at that very time in his lodging, ran to the streets, and complained with tears and clamours that he was betrayed, so as to raise the whole city in an uproar. Cæsar did every thing he could to appease the people; and next day he called a public assembly, where Ptolemy and Cleopatra being present, he caused their father's will to be read; wherein it was ordained, "That his eldest son and eldest daughter should be joined in marriage, and should reign together under the guardianship of the Roman people." By virtue of this guardianship, vested in him as dictator, (which office the Roman senate conferred on him after his victory^b at Pharsalia) he decreed, "That Ptolemy, the present king, and Cleopatra being the eldest daughter should reign in Egypt, and that Ptolemy the younger son, and Arsinoe, the other daughter, should reign in Cyprus." This pleased the whole assembly, except Pothinus, who being afraid of Cleopatra's return to the government, to prevent the execution of the decree, sowed new discontents among the people, and wrote to Achilles to bring his army from Pelusium to Alexandria, and drive Cæsar thence.

Achillas having twenty thousand men with

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^b Dion Cassius, lib. 42. p. 219.

him^c, despised the small number of Caesar's troops; but Caesar so well disposed the small force he had, in the streets and avenues of the city, that he sustained the assault. This design then failing, they carried the war into the port, in order to seize the fleet and shut up Caesar, so as he might have no succours nor provisions sent to him by sea. To prevent this, Caesar ordered the fleet to be set on fire, and at the same time seized the tower of Pharos, and placed a garrison in it. Some of the ships communicated the flames to the adjoining houses, which spreading in that quarter of the city called Bruchium, consumed the noble library there laid up^d. Caesar having a dangerous war thus begun, sent for succours to all adjacent parts^e. Domitius Calvinus, his lieutenant in the proper Asia, sent him two legions: One by sea arrived in time, but the other by land came not to Egypt, because the war was over before they could reach it. Mithridates the Pergamenian did him signal services; for being sent by him into Syria and Cilicia, he brought him these forces which extricated him out of all his difficulties. In this he was signally assisted by Antipater the Idumæan; who not only joined him with three thousand Jews^f, but prevailed also with Hyrcanus and his neighbours in Arabia, Coele Syria and Phœnicia to send their aid. Caesar in the meantime fortified that quarter of the city where he lay, and finding Pothinus by his letters to Achilles stirred him up to carry on the war,

^c Caesar de bello Civili, lib. 3. ^d Plutarch. in Casare. See Vol. III. p. 251.—253. ^e Hirtius, de bello Alexandrino, ab initio. ^f Joseph Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 14, 15.

war, he caused Pothinus to be put to death^a. Ganymede, another eunuch of the palace, being in the same interest, and fearing the same punishment, escaped, carrying Arsinoe the king's sister with him, and went to the army, where he formed an accusation against Achilles, got him put to death, and succeeded him in the chief command of the army, and prime administration of affairs^b. He was a crafty person, finding out many subtle devices for distressing Caesar. By one of these he spoiled all the fresh water in his quarters, by letting in salt water from the sea into the wells: But Caesar ordered new wells to be digged, and by going deep enough, he found springs of fresh water sufficient to answer all his occasions.

Caesar hearing of the arrival of his fleet from Rhodes and other places with the legion that Calvinus sent him upon the coast of Libya, he went with his fleet, to bring them to Alexandria. Ganymede getting intelligence hereof, sent the Egyptian fleet to intercept his return. This produced a fight at sea, wherein Caesar got the victory, and brought his legion safe to Alexandria. Ganymede having recruited his fleet from several ports of Nile, entered the port of Alexandria. This produced another fight, in which Caesar had again the victory: But in pursuit thereof, landing in the island Pharos, and attempting to take the town, and the mole leading to it, call Heptastadium, he was beat off with the loss of above eight hundred of his men, and was in danger of being lost himself: For the ship in which he was, being

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^a Caesar de bello civili, lib. 3. in fine. Dion Cassius, lib. 42. p. 236.
^b Hirtius de bello Alexandrino.

too much crowded was sinking; whereupon Cæsar threw himself into the sea¹ and got off by swimming to the next ship; and while he thus escaped, he carried some valuable papers which he had then with him in one hand, and swam with the other, and so saved himself and them.

After this, Cæsar was persuaded to send king Ptolemy to the Egyptian army, on a promise made him, that when they should have their king, they would make peace; but instead of that they pressed on the war with greater vigour, and by their fleet endeavoured to intercept Cæsar's provision by sea. This produced another sea fight near Canopus, in which Cæsar had again the victory. By this time Mithridates of Pergamus, with Antipater, were near at hand with their land army. They stormed and took the city Pelusium, where Antipater first mounted the breach of the walls², making way to those who followed him to take the place. Thence passing towards Alexandria, as they were to go through the province of Onion, they found the avenues seized by the Jews who inhabited that part of Egypt, and obstructed their proceeding further; but Antipater brought them over to Cæsar's party. The people of Memphis joined the same interest, and Mithridates was plentifully supplied with necessaries from both. On his coming to the Delta, (where two branches of the river Nile form an island like the Greek capital letter Delta, whence the place hath that designation) Ptolemy sent an army to oppose them

¹ Plutarch. in Cæsare, Hirtius de bello Alexandrino. Sueronius in Jul. Cæsare, cap. 64. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 2. p. 792. Orosius, lib. 6 cap. 15. ² Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 14.

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them. This produced a battle, wherein the Egyptians were routed, Mithridates and Antipater driving them out of the field with great slaughter; and having taken their camp, forced those that escaped to repass the Nile*. Whereupon Ptolemy marched himself with his whole army to oppress the pursuers, and Cæsar did the same for their support, who brought the matter to a decisive action¹; in which Cæsar having obtained an absolute victory, Ptolemy endeavouring to escape in a boat, sunk and was drowned in the Nile. Then Alexandria and all Egypt submitted to the conqueror. Cæsar settled the kingdom under Cleopatra and the surviving Ptolemy her younger brother, which was in effect to put the whole into her hands, this brother being then only eleven years old. Cæsar's amours with this lady had plunged him into this war; and he made it turn as far as he could to her advantage. For, as Dion Cassius observes^m, he might have subjected all Egypt even then to the Roman empire if he had pleased. But his love to this woman having made him stay there longer than his affairs could well admit; (for he had ended his business there in January, and yet lingering in the country till the end of April thereafter, continuing there nine months in allⁿ, viz. from July to the end of the following April;) he was willing that Cleopatra should reap the benefit of his purchase. Having taken Arsinoë prisoner, he carried her to Rome, to be there led in bonds at his triumph: But when

in Jul.
ius, lib.

* Ant. C. 47. Hyrcanus II. 17. ¹ Hirtius de bello Alexandrino, p. 360. Plutarch. in Cæsare. Dion Cassius, lib. 42. p. 231. ^m Lib. 42. p. 231, 232. ⁿ Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 2. p. 792.

when that show was over he dismissed her. Only that she might not create new troubles in Egypt, she was confined to the proper Asia^o, where Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caused her to be put to death in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, at the desire of her own sister Cleopatra. Before Cæsar departed from Alexandria, in acknowledgment of the assistance he had from the Jews, he confirmed all their privileges in that city, and ordered a pillar to be there erected, whereon these privileges were engraven, and his decree for confirming^p the same.

§ 38. Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, son of Mithridates, late king of Pontus, finding the Romans engaged in the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, took the advantage to endeavour to recover his father's dominions in Asia; and in order thereto passed the Euxine sea, took possession of Colchis, of the Lesser Armenia, and of several places in Cappadocia, Pontus and Bithynia. Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia, sent Domitius Calvinus with part of his army against him. But this army being weakened by supplies Domitius had sent to Cæsar in Egypt, was at last overcome by Pharnaces^q, who being puffed up with this success, carried with great pride and cruelty to all the Roman interest in Asia.

This obliged Cæsar, leaving Egypt, where he ordered a part of his forces to stay and support Cleopatra, to march with the rest into Syria. While he was in that country, Antigonus the son

^o Hirtius de bello Alexandrino Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 4. ^p Ibid. lib. 14. cap. 17. ^q Hirtius de bello Alexandrino, p. m. 366. Dion Cassius, ubi supra.

son of Aristobulus, late king of the Jews, came to him much lamenting his father and brother's death^r, the one of which had been poisoned, and the other beheaded for adhering to Caesar's cause^s, and prayed him to have compassion on him, and restore him to his father's principality; and at the same time made heavy complaints of the wrongs he had suffered by Antipater and Hyrcanus. But Antipater being then attending on Caesar, defended his own and Hyrcanus's cause so well, that Caesar, rejecting the accusation of Antigonus as a turbulent fellow, decreed that Hyrcanus should hold the office of high-priest at Jerusalem, with the principality of Judea for himself and his family after him in perpetuity, and appointed Antipater to be procurator of Judea under him, and ordered this decree to be engraven^t on tables of brass, and to be hung up in the capitol at Rome, and in the temples of Tyre, Sidon and Ascalon in Phœnicia. All this was accomplished by Antipater, who was a person of great wisdom and foresight, and of such interest in Judea and the neighbouring provinces, that he made himself necessary to all the Roman governors; and he was in a special manner useful to Caesar in the Alexandrian war. By this time he had a strong family: For by his wife Cyprus he had four sons, men of reputation for valour and wisdom. The eldest of them was named^u Phasaelus, the second Herod, the third Joseph, and the youngest Pheroras, and a daughter called Salome.

Julius

^r Joseph Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 15. ^s See p. 255, 256. ^t Joseph Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 15, 16, 17. Lib. 20. cap. 8. De bello, lib. 1. cap. 7, 8.

^u Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12.

Julius Cæsar, after a short stay in Syria, made Sextus Cæsar his kinsman president of that province^a, and then hastened northward after Pharnaces. On his arrival he gave his enemy no respite; for he immediately attacked him, and gained an absolute victory. Hence he wrote to his friend, *Veni, vidi, vici*; "I came, I saw, I overcame:" which words he caused be engraven, and carried before him afterwards in his triumph^b. Pharnaces fled to Sinope with a thousand horsemen^c, and embarking his men, sailed to the Bosphorus: But Asander his lieutenant having got his master into his power^d, killed him and usurped his crown. Cæsar, to reward Mithridates of Pergamus for the service he had done him in Egypt, gave him the kingdom of Bosphorus, and made him one of the tetrarchs of Galatia^e. The first was but an empty title, and seeking to possess it, he was cut off by Asander.

Antipater having waited on Cæsar through all Syria, returned again into Judea. And soon after going through that country, settled the civil government under Hyrcanus, in every part according to Cæsar's decree, in the same manner as it had been done before Gabinus's alteration^f, and appointed Phasaclius his eldest son to be governor of Jerusalem^g, and Herod his second son to be governor of Galilee. Herod being of a very active genius, and then twenty-five years old, was no sooner in his government, but to singlize himself, he

^a Hirtius de bello Alexandrino. Dion Cassius, lib. 47. p. 390. Plutarch in Cæsar.

^b Scutonium in Cæsar, cap. 37. Appian p. 793.

^c Appian in Mithridaticis.

^d Dion Cassius, lib. 45, p. 233.

^e Hirtius

de bello Alexandrino, in fine.

^f See p. 233.

^g Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14.

cap. 16, 17. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 8.

he fell upon a knot of thieves who infested Galilee and the neighbouring part of Coeleſyria, and having taken Hezekiah their leader, with ſeveral of his associates, he put them all to death, whereby he made his name known to Sextus Cæſar, then preſident of the province. But theſe who envied the proſperity and power of Antipater and his family, accused Herod to Hyrcanus for putting theſe men to death without a legal trial, and prevailed ſo far, that Herod was cited to answer before the Sanhedrim; where he made his appearance, clothed in purple, and ſurrounded with his guards; which ſo over-awed the Sanhedrim, that they all ſat ſilent, excepting Sameas, who roſe up and accused him for appearing in a habit not proper for a criminal, and of bringing ſuch armed force with him into the court, as if he intended to make the adminiſtration of juſtice more dangerous to the judges than to the malefactor: Upbraiding alſo Hyrcanus with cowardice in permitting this, he prophetically told, "That though they ſpared Herod for this enormity, time would be that he ſhould not ſpare them; but that the juſt judgment of God by his hands ſhould be executed upon them." And ſo it happened: For when Herod came to be king of Judea, he put every one of them to death, (excepting this Sameas and Pollio his maſter) and even Hyrcanus himſelf, as ſhall be afterwards related. However, Hyrcanus at that time, did all he could to have Herod acquitted, being influenced by his love to the young man, and by a menacing letter from Sextus Cæſar in his favours. But the major part of the court being inclined to condemn him, he adjourned

adjourned their meeting, and advised Herod to be gone, who, accordingly in the night-time withdrawing from Jerusalem, he went to Damascus, and there putting himself under the protection of Sextus Cæsar, defied the Sanhedrim. Yea, Herod so far ingratiated himself with this Roman governor, that for a sum of money he gave him, he obtained of him the government of Cœlesyria*. Whereon he got together an army, and marched with it into Judæa, intending to be revenged on Hyrcanus and the Sanhedrim. But Antipater his father, and Phasaelus his brother interposing, made him at that time desist from the attempt.

§ 39. The remains of Pompey's faction had retired to Afric. The chief of them were, Q. Metellus Scipio, who was Pompey's father-in-law, Petreius, Afranius, Torquatus, T. Labienus, Faustus Sylla, and M. Cato^s. In the time wherein Cæsar was employed in the wars at Alexandria and in Pontus, and while he was settling his affairs in Italy, they had gathered strength; and with the assistance of Juba, king of Mauritania, had made themselves masters of the whole province, and had sent Cn. Pompeius into Spain, as a proper person to bring that country (that once had a great affection to his deceased father) to the same interest, designing also to enlarge themselves further. Cæsar, to stop their progress, embarked from Italy in the middle of winter, (it being his usual custom to surprise his enemies by his dispatch;) and about the beginning of January in this year, he landed and rendezvoused his forces in Afric. En-

camping

* Ant. C. 46. Hyrc. II, 18.

^s Hirtius, de bello Africano. Dion Cassius, lib. 42 p. 238, — 240. & lib. 43. p. 240, — 246.

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camping near the shore, he was straitened for forage and provisions, and met with considerable losses in several skirmishes¹. But in the beginning of February, he came upon his enemy unawares, and in one day took three camps, and killed fifty thousand of his adversaries, with the loss only of fifty of his own men². Cato had very resolutely adhered to the cause of Pompey hitherto. He was a man very stedfast to his own opinion, never changing with the turns of fortune³: And therefore, rather than implore the conqueror's mercy, or fall into his hands, he chose to kill himself at Utica with his own sword, amidst philosophical thoughts, and reading of Plato's *Phædon* concerning the soul. The circumstances of his death are particularly related by Plutarch⁴, Appian⁵, and Dion Cassius⁶, even with too much approbation. Cæsar having settled the province, returned to Rome, carrying with him Juba, the son of king Juba, a youth, whom he caused to be led in triumph instead of his father. However, by this captivity he had the advantage of a Roman education⁷, whereby he became a learned man, and a great historian. His works now are all lost. The most eminent of them were, his Roman history, writ in Greek, and his book of the affairs of Assyria, collected mostly from the writings of Berosus⁸. Before Cæsar left Africa, he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage⁹; and the same year Corinth was rebuilt by the like order:

¹ Plutarch. in Jul. Cæsar. ² Ibid. ³ Victrix causa Dils placuit, sed victa Catone, Lucan, lib. 1. v. 128. ⁴ In Catone Uticensi. ⁵ p. 799, 800. ⁶ Lib. 43. p. 249. ⁷ Plutarch in Cæsar. ⁸ Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 2. ⁹ Appian. de bellis Punicis, in fine

order: So as these once famous cities were destroyed and rebuilt in the same year, just a hundred years after their ruin^p. Two years after this^q Roman colonies were sent into each of them; and from the new colony at Corinth were descended those Corinthians, to whom Paul wrote his epistles.

At this time Cæcilius Bassus created disorders in Syria. He had fought on the side of Pompey at the battle of Pharsalia, and after that overthrow fled to Tyre, where he engaged several Roman soldiers. Sextus Cæsar calling him to an account for these practices, he so persuaded him of his innocency, that he was dismissed. Afterwards he seized Tyre, and marched out against Sextus Cæsar, and was vanquished by him; but seeing himself unable to accomplish his designs by force, he tried to do it by treachery: For Sextus being a man addicted to pleasures, when he went abroad upon such views, he made his army to attend him. This disgusted many; which Bassus understanding, employed soldiers to kill him; which they did^r, and then joined Bassus. But Antistius Varus put himself at the head of another party, and with the assistance of the sons of Antipater, drove Bassus out of the field, and shut him up in Apamea; where he defended himself so well, that they were not able to take the place.

After Cæsar's return from the African expedition, by the help of several mathematicians he re-

formed

^p See vol. 3. p. 406. ^q Strabo, lib. 17. p. 833. Pausanias in Eliacis & in Corinthiacis, p. 11. ^r Dion Cassius, lib. 47. p. m. 390, 391. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 3. Epitome Livii, lib. 114. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 17.

formed the Roman calendar^f, appointing the Julian year in all time coming to consist of 365 days, 6 hours, which 6 hours every fourth year, make the bissextile or leap year, by adding one day to February. The year was never well fixed and regulated in the heathen world before this time; for the lunar year, which was in use, falling short of the solar by the space of eleven days, made the calculation very uncertain. To rectify this, belonged to Cæsar as high-priest of Rome, which office he enjoyed before he was either dictator or consul. The benefit of this rectification the world hath enjoyed ever since. Pope Gregory, in the year of our Lord 1582, observing, by the help of his mathematicians, that there was yet a defect in this calculation, by reason that the true solar year consists of 365 days, 5 hours, and 49 minutes, that is 11 minutes less than the Julian year, (which 11 minutes in the space of 130 years make up one day, which from the time of the council of Nice, anno 325, to Gregory XIII. made 10 days) decreed the new stile to be observed 10 days before the old; and, to keep the year right in time coming, that there should be the difference of three days more each 400 years, *i. e.* of one day for every century, except the fourth. But this hath not met with general approbation, and hence the old stile is retained in Britain.

In the kalends of January, Cæsar entered his fourth consulship, and thence began the first Julian year^g. Understanding that the sons of Pompey

^f Plutarch. in Cæfare. Sueton. in Cæfare, cap. 40. Censorius, de die natali, cap. 23. Macrobii Saturnalia, lib. 1. cap. 14, 15. ^g Plutarch. in Cæfare. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 2. p. 803.—806. * Ant. C. 45. Hyrc. II. 19.

pey had assembled a great army in Spain, being the last remains of the party, he went thither with forces to suppress them, and brought the matter to a decisive battle near Munda; where Caesar being in great danger, cried out to his troops, " 'Tis a shame to be overcome by these young men," and at last obtained with difficulty a great victory, having killed thirty thousand of his enemies in the field, with the loss only of a thousand men on his own side. This was the last battle in all the civil wars, and the last which Caesar ever fought. When he came to his tent, he told his friends, " That he had often fought for victory, but this day for his life." Having quieted the province, he returned to Rome; and looking on the civil war as now fully concluded, he issued out an act of indemnity and oblivion to all who had acted against him in the late wars*. Whereupon he was made perpetual dictator, a temple was built to Clemency in memory of his extensive pardon, and many other honours and powers were granted to him, whereby the whole authority of the Roman state was put into his hands; and so he was made, though not in name, yet truly and in effect the sovereign prince of their whole empire.

On the first day of the next year, Caesar entered on his fifth and last consulship*, Mark Anthony being his colleague. He then received a request from Hyrcanus, to permit him to repair the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had caused to be pul-
led

* Ultima funesta concurrunt praelia Munda, Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 1. v. 40.

* Plutarch. in Cesare. Dion Cassius, lib. 43. p. 267. Appian. p. 806; 807.

* Ant. C. 44. Hyrc. II. 10. Florus, lib. 4. cap. 2. Cicero ad Atticum, lib. 14. epist. 9.

led down. This he readily granted, in consideration of the services which the petitioner had done him, both in Egypt and Syria, and a decree was passed at Rome for that purpose; which being carried to Jerusalem, Antipater set about the work, and the city was again fortified as in former times. Josephus^a tells us, that this was done in Caesar's fifth consulship. About the same time it was decreed, "That in honour of his name, the fifth month, hitherto called Quintilis, should be called Julius^b," which is our English July.

Cæsar intending a war against the Parthians for revenging the death of Crassus, and having several other great things in his view mentioned by Plutarch^c, resigned his consulship, substituting in his stead P. Cornelius Dolabella, a young man of twenty-five years of age. But when all things were got ready for this expedition, on the fatal Ides of March, or the fifteenth day of that month, he was treacherously murdered by twenty-three wounds^d in his body, given him by the senators in the senate-house, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. This was a most villanous act, and the more, because the principal authors and actors thereof, were his supposed friends, as Marcus Brutus, Decimus Brutus, Cassius, Trebonius and others, whom he had pardoned, and in the highest manner obliged: And it is remarkable, that every man of them was cut off in a short time, in a violent manner, either by their own or other

VOL. IV. T mens

^a Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 17. ^b Macrobii Saturnalia, lib. 1. cap. 12. ^c In Jul. Cæsare. ^d Plutarch. in Jul. Cæsare, in Bruto, in Cicero & Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 44. p. 182. Livii Epitome, lib. 116. Appian de bellis civilibus, lib. 2. p. 810.—814.

mens hands; and some of them by the same swords with which they had perpetrated the murder. Cæsar was a very proper person to have extended the Roman empire over Parthia and the Indies, which he seems to have designed; and if this had succeeded, Christianity would have had easier access to those parts of the world. He was a man of polite literature, and great abilities in all arts of war and civil government, and of great diligence and application in the pursuit of both. After his wars he triumphed five times^a: First, for his victories in Gaul; secondly, for those in Egypt and Alexandria; thirdly, for those in Pontus, over Pharnaces; fourthly, for those in Africa, over Juba and others; and fifthly, for his victory in Spain, over the sons of Pompey: The last of which did more offend the Romans than any of the former, because it was not over strangers, but for overthrowing the sons of the best quality in Rome. To gain the favour of the people, he feasted at one time the Roman citizens at two and twenty thousand tables, and gave them the diversion of seeing many sword players, mock battles at sea^b, with other games and amusements; yea, also of some human sacrifices, as Dion Cassius^c observes. He often ventured on very hazardous undertakings without any prospect of success, but in a rash confidence of that which he called his good fortune; which did not fail him: For he fought fifty battles with great success, and in these he is said to have slain eleven hundred and ninety-two thousand men^d; which discovers him to have been a
terrible

^a Sueton. in Jul. Cæsar, cap. 37. ^b Plutarch, in Jul. Cæsar. ^c Lib. 43. p. 236. ^d Plin. Nat. hist. lib. 7. cap. 25.

terrible scourge in the hand of God for the punishment of that wicked generation.

§ 40. The murder of Cæsar was followed with great confusions all over the Roman empire. The conspirators, for fear, retired to the capitol, where they were guarded by a number of gladiators. The senate being assembled, after great debates, agreed to an act of oblivion for all that was past, and to ratify Cæsar's ordinances, because they were for the good of the commonwealth. Mark Antony being then consul, of whom we have before^h heard, he headed the Cæsarian party; and, by an oration made at Cæsar's funeralⁱ, so far excited the people against the murderers, that they were all forced to leave Rome; where Antony governed till Octavius arrived. Cæsar's will was publicly read before the people, whereby he ordered^k, "That Caius Octavius, his sister's son, by Attia, the wife of Octavius, should be his adopted son, and heir to three quarters of his estate; and that Pinarius and Pædus should have the other fourth part. To the Roman people he left the gardens which he had on the other side of the Tiber, and to each citizen three hundred sesterces: Decimus Brutus and some others, who had dipt their hands in his blood, were named among his second heirs." These tokens of kindness he had expressed to the Roman citizens moved them exceedingly; but Brutus being named an heir, raised their indignation to a pitch against so ungrateful a person. Cæsar's funerals were celebrated

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^h See page 235.—238. ⁱ Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 44. p. 292.—302. ^k Sueton. in Jul. Cæsare, cap. 83. Plutarch. in Cicerone.

with great solemnity, and they proceeded afterwards to give him divine honours.

In the mean time Octavius was at Apollonia, on the other side of the Adriatic, for his instruction in literature^l, and to head the army which his deceased uncle had prepared there for the Parthian expedition, till he himself should arrive. As soon as he was informed of what had happened at Rome, he embarked for Brundisium, and thence marched to the city; where he declared before the prætor his uncle's adoption, which was registered among the public acts, and designing himself Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, he took on him to execute his uncle's will, by which he was constitute his heir. A controversy arising between him and Mark Antony^m about two thousand five hundred myriads of his deceased uncle's estate, which the latter, being a man who lived at a high rate, had made use of, Cicero was employed to manage this suit. But the main contest was, Who should succeed Julius Cæsar in his power and interest? A great number of Cæsar's soldiers resorting to Octavius, he was like to carry it against his competitor; which obliged Antony to quit Rome, and to leave to Octavius the conduct both of senate and people. This was a great instance of management, that when he was but entered the nineteenth year of his age, he should be able to outwit one who had so long experience in affairs. In the meantime Cæsar's murderers finding all things go against them in Italy, retired: Brutus seized Greece and

^l Plutarch in Antonio & Cicerone. ^o Sueton. in Augusto, cap. 8. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 3. p. 862. ^m Plutarch. ibid. Dion Cassius, lib. 45. p. 314.

and Macedon: Cassius raised forces in Cilicia, Syria and the east, where he had been acquainted while he was lieutenant to Crassus in the unfortunate Parthian expedition^a, and afterwards when he commanded in Syria, and saved that country from the Parthians.

Hirtius and Panfa were consuls in the ensuing year^{*}; The former of these was a learned man, who had served under Julius Cæsar, and continued his commentaries; where he gives an account of his wars in Egypt and in Afric. During their consulate, M. Antony was declared by the senate a public enemy, chiefly by Cicero's means, who made many smart and eloquent orations against him[†]; which in imitation of Demosthenes's speeches, against Philip of Macedon, he called Philippics, and are still extant: For which Antony never forgave him; and Fufius Calenus in the meantime made a pointed answer[‡] to him. However the war being decreed, both the consuls marched against Antony, who was then besieging Decimus Brutus, in Mutina, now called Modena. The siege being raised, Decimus was spared, but not pardoned. He designed to penetrate into Greece to M. Brutus and Cassius; but his army would not allow him; and therefore he endeavoured with a few attendants to pass into Gaul, but was taken by Sequanus, governor of Aquileia, who cut off his head and sent it to Antony[§]. A battle being fought between the consuls and Antony, Hirtius was killed, and Panfa

T 3

mortally

^a See page 243. ^{*} Ant. C. 43. Hyrc. II. 25. [†] Dion Cassius, lib. 45. p. 317, — 334. Plutarch in Antonio. [‡] Dion. Cassius, lib. 46. p. 335. — 353. [§] Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 3. p. 954.

mortally wounded'. The victory being on the side of Octavius, and he surviving, reaped the whole benefit: For he got the army under his sole command, and so far distressed Antony, that he was forced in a broken condition to flee over the Alps into Gaul, where he was straitened for provisions: But being received by the Roman army which Lepidus commanded in that province; and the senate refusing Octavianus the honour of a triumph, this brought the matter to an agreement between these three great men. For Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus met at Bologna, where they formed the second triumvirate, dividing the Roman empire between them¹ for five years. They easily agreed about most of their affairs; only when the destruction of their enemies was determined, Octavianus desired to have Cicero spared: But Antony would consent to nothing, unless he should be destroyed. Indeed the method the triumvirate took to establish their authority, by a proscription of so many eminent persons, was very cruel and unjustifiable. They condemned three hundred of the chiefest citizens to be put to death'. Nothing was heard but cries and lamentations in every corner of the city, by reason of the murders committed by the soldiers. The pretence was to revenge Caesar's death; but many suffered who were no way concerned in it; some for their great estates, others for old quarrels, and some that their adversaries might seize their fine houses and gardens. Money was extorted

from

¹ Livii Epitome, lib. 119. Dion. Cassius, lib. 46. p. 360. (Livii Epit. lib. 110. Dion. Cassius, lib. 46. p. 371. Plutarch in Antonio. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 4. p. 956,—978.

from ladies, fourteen hundred of their number being also proscribed^u. Dion Cassius^a also observes, that Cæsar was the most merciful of his colleagues, but Antony was the most cruel. Cicero hearing of death being determined against him, resolved to flee, but had not the courage nor resolution to do it with that dispatch and secrecy which was requisite. Herennius, and Popilius Lænas, a tribune of soldiers, whose cause this orator had defended, were sent with a small party of armed men to kill him. Having found him on the road, the old man stopped his litter, and reached out his head, which they struck off, with his right hand, and brought the same to Antony^v, who said, "Now my revenge is completed; I have no further occasion for the proscription;" and caused the head and hand of this great man to be put up in the Rostra, where he had often triumphed by the force of his eloquence. Thus died Tullius Cicero, in the sixty-third year of his age. I have already taken some notice of his life before the breaking out of the civil wars^z, I shall only further observe, That in these commotions he came to Pompey's camp, but had no command nor share in the war. When Julius Cæsar had the absolute power at Rome, Cicero meddled not in affairs of state, but privately studied philosophy, writing several treatises on that subject, which remain to this day; and was the first, as Plutarch observes^z, who brought the harsh terms of art used by the Greeks in their logics and physics into elegant

^u Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 4. p. 978.—995. ^z Lib. 47. p. 377.

^v Plutarch. in Cicero. ^a See pages 220, 228, 229, 246, 247. ^z In Cicero.

elegant Latin. His philosophical treatises are mostly in the form of dialogues. He was not made privy to the design against Cæsar's life, the party engaged in that wicked conspiracy not thinking fit to trust him; a pretended friendship being contracted between him and Octavianus, they two obtained the consulate after the battle at Mutina, the consuls of that year, Hirtius and Pansa, being dead of the wounds they received at this action: And while he bore that office, he was but ill rewarded, by being given up as a sacrifice to the revenge and fury of Mark Antony^b; though perhaps there may be some secret in this affair we do not know.

§ 41. During all this time Marcus Brutus was preparing his army in Greece and Macedon, and Cassius was doing the same in Cilicia, Syria and Palestine. Caius Antonius, the brother of the triumvir, having submitted to Brutus, he spared him for a while: But when he heard that Decimus Brutus his kinsman, and Cicero his dear friend, were cut off in Italy, to be revenged on the triumvir, he put^c his brother to death. Cassius, on his arrival in Syria, found Marcus and Marcius Crispus at the siege of Apamea^d. On his coming thither, they both joined him with all their forces, and Bassus's foldiers did the same. The city was surrendered on terms; and by this addition Cassius made up an army of eight legions. Being thus strengthened, the whole of Syria submitted to him. Thence he passed into Phœnicia and Judea^e without any difficulty, securing all these

^b Vell. Patere. lib. 2. cap. 66. ^c Plutarch. in Bruto. ^d Dion Cassius, lib. 47. p. 391. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 753. ^e Joseph. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 18.

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these countries to his interest. While he lay there, Allienus was marching through Palestine with four legions^a, sent by Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, to assist Dolabella. These Cassius surrounded, and obliged them all to come over to him; by which means his army consisted of twelve legions. For maintenance of so great a number of troops, he was forced to lay heavy contributions on the whole country. Judea being taxed at 700 talents, Antipater, for the payment thereof, ordered his sons, Phasaël and Herod, with Malichus, to raise it in their several districts^b. Herod recommended himself to the favour of Cassius, by being the first in bringing in his quota: But Gophna, Emaus, Lydda, Thamna and some other cities in Judea being found tardy, Cassius caused all the inhabitants in them to be sold by auction for raising the money; and Malichus had like to have been put to death by Cassius (who was a very passionate man^c, though a good general) for his failure in this matter, if Hyrcanus had not sent a hundred talents to redeem him from this danger. Brutus understanding the preparations made against him at Rome, had an interview with Cassius at Smyrna, where he persuaded him to give him the third part of the money he had raised in Syria^d; because his own was exhausted on an armament by sea. After this they went on with raising more money, and preparing for war. Plutarch^e tells us, That when Brutus was besieging the city

of

^a Cassius ad Ciceronem inter Epist. Cic. ad familiares, lib. 12. epist. 11.
^b Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 4. p. 1000. ^c Joseph Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 18. ^d Plutarch. in Bruto. Appian. p. 1013,—1017. ^e Ibid.
^f Plutarch in Bruto.

of the Xantians, wherein were the strongest men of Lycia, the besieged made a sally by night, and set fire to the engines of battery. The besieged were soon beat in again: But the flames they had raised flying in upon the houses adjoining to the walls, set the city a-blazing; and though Brutus gave orders to quench it, the Lycians were so mad, as to add fuel to the flames, destroying themselves with their wives, children and servants, as well as their town. Patara submitted to Brutus. While he was sitting up all night at Sardis to dispatch his affairs, 'tis said a spirit appeared to him, saying^m, "I am thy evil genius, thou shalt see me again at Philippi." Cassius having taken Rhodes, compelled the inhabitants to give him all their ready money in gold and silver, which amounted to the sum of eight thousand talents; and yet he condemned the city to pay five hundred talents more, not sparingⁿ even the sacred things in their temples.

§ 42. While these things were a-doing, Malichus was acting a very wicked part towards Antipater in Judea; where he and Antipater had been long the chief supporters of Hyrcanus's interest, against Aristobulus and his sons: But Malichus being a crafty man, and not content to be the second minister under the prince, he aspired to be the first^o. In order to this, he laid a plot against the life of Antipater: But that being prevented for a time, he made such protestations of his innocence, that Antipater and his sons were reconciled

^m Plutarch in Bruto.

ⁿ Dion Cassius, lib. 47. p. 395. Plutarch in Bruto.

^o Joseph. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 18, 19, 20. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 9.

reconciled to him. Notwithstanding this obligation, he took the opportunity, when Antipater was dining with Hyrcanus, to bribe the butler to give him poison in his wine, of which he died: And Malichus seized the government of Jerusalem with armed force; but still endeavoured to persuade Phasaelus and Herod that he was innocent in the matter. Herod would by open force presently have revenged it; but Phasaelus advised to execute their resentment by a stratagem, that they might not kindle a civil war. Cassius the Roman general being advertised by letters of what Malichus had done, ordered his soldiers to assist Herod in taking revenge on the murderer. And when Cassius had taken Laodicea, Hyrcanus, Herod, and Malichus, going with congratulations and presents to him, while they were on the road, being to lodge at Tyre, Herod sent off his servants on pretence to provide supper, but with secret letters to the commander of the garrison, who, as desired, sent off a party of soldiers, who killed Malichus as he was approaching the city. Thus Herod prevented the designs of Malichus, and his wickedness returned upon his own head.

Cassius had several times sent to Cleopatra queen of Egypt for her assistance, being as often refused; and hearing that she was sending succours to the triumvirate by sea, he resolved to make war upon her. Julius Cæsar had made her queen, joining her brother, a boy of eleven years of age with her in the government*; but now this boy having become fifteen years old, was capable of having some

* Ant. C. 43. Hyrc. II. 12.

some share in the conduct of public affairs, to prevent this, she took him off by poison^p, and reigned alone in Egypt: And since she had received her crown by Cæsar's favour, she would not assist his murderers: Wherefore Cassius resolved to go against her. But he was called back by Brutus for their mutual support against the triumvirs; who having declared them enemies to the Roman state, and left Lepidus to command at Rome, Octavianus and Mark Anthony marched with a great army of about an hundred thousand men against them. Cassius and Brutus having joined their forces, made an army not much inferior to that of the triumvirs. Both met at Philippi in Macedonia (to the inhabitants of which city St. Paul writes one of his epistles;) where the army of the triumvirs was commanded in chief by Mark Anthony, Octavianus being at that time sick in his tent. A bloody battle being fought, Cassius was soon defeated, and retired to a hill there to wait for an account of that part of the army commanded by Brutus, and thinking in the confusion and dust, (that was so great that he could not observe what was a-doing) that he was overcome, he caused his servant Pindarus cut off his head. Brutus was so successful the first day of the battle as he took Cæsar's camp; but a few days thereafter coming to a second engagement, and being entirely routed, he retired to a hill at night, and in the morning caused his friend Strato run his own sword through his body^q; and so died, as some observe, by the same sword with which he killed Cæsar. He was a man that professed

^p Appian de bellis civilibus, lib. 4 p. 1003. ^q Plotarch. in Bruto. Vel-
Icius Patereulus, lib. 2. cap. 70. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 4 p. 1043.
—1070. Dion Cassius, lib. 47 p. 404,—406.

possessed great love to strict virtue, a hater of tyranny; a great reader and student in Platonic philosophy, who had a considerable share in the affairs of the commonwealth. Both he and Cassius had their lives spared by Julius Cæsar after the battle of Pharsalia; yea, thereafter he heaped favours upon them, and yet both of them were chief contrivers and actors in his murder: And whatever some heathen authors speak of their courage in causing kill themselves, I cannot but esteem such a death to be most inglorious, and an insolent proud attempt against the God of heaven, who gave them a being: For so the word of God, and the light of nature teaches us to judge of it. The greatest part of their army submitted to the conquerors: And by this victory the triumvirs established their authority, there being now no sufficient body of men to oppose them.

§ 43. In Judea, as soon as Cassius was gone out of Syria, the faction of Malichus at Jerusalem rose in arms to revenge his death upon the sons of Antipater; and having gained Hyrcanus to their side, and also Felix, the commander of the Roman forces at Jerusalem, they assaulted Phasaëlus; and at the same time a brother of Malichus took possession of Massada and some other castles in Judea. Herod being then with Fabius the Roman governor in Damascus, and there affixed to his bed by sickness, Phasaëlus was forced to stand this storm, and weathered it with success: For he drove Felix and all that party out of Jerusalem. And when Herod was recovered and returned, the two brothers recovered Massada and all other places taken from them; and then justly upbraided Hyrcanus with ingratitude,

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 20. & de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 10.

ingratitude, since to Antipater their father he owed all that he had. But about this time Herod, though he had married one Doris before, by whom he had Antipater his eldest son, concluded a match with Mariamne the daughter of Alexander the son of Aristobulus. Her mother was Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus; so that by her father she was grand-niece, and by her mother grand-daughter to Hyrcanus the present prince of Judea; which match then reconciled all differences between Herod and Hyrcanus. However, peace did not long continue; the faction revived under another head: For they called to them Antigonus the younger son of Aristobulus; and under pretence of restoring him to his father's throne, raised new disturbances^c. His father and elder brother being dead, as hath been related^b, he claimed the kingdom; and herein was supported by Marion king of Tyre, Fabius governor of Damascus, and Ptolemy the son of Menaeus prince of Chalcis. The first engaged in the cause out of hatred he bore to Herod, the second, for the money that was given to hire him into it, and the last by reason of affinity, for he had married a sister of Antigonus called Alexandra^d. After Aristobulus was poisoned, and Alexander his son beheaded, this Ptolemy sent his son Philippion to bring the whole family to Chalcis, for the love he bore to Alexandra. Philippion being smitten with her beauty, married her on the way: For which his father put him to death at his return, and then married her himself.

By

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 21. ^b See p. 255, 256. ^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 13. 11.

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By reason of this affinity, he did all he could to promote the interest of Antigonus; who being thus supported, got an army into the field to pursue his pretensions. But Herod, upon his first entering Judea, gave him a total overthrow; and then recovering what Marion had taken in Galilee, he returned to Jerusalem with victory.

§ 44. After the battle at Philippi *, Octavianus led the old legions into Italy, to put them in possession of the lands that were promised them. Mark Anthony having given Brutus an honourable burial †, passed into Greece, where he was courted with delicate flattery. He heard the conferences of philosophers at Athens, and having made Lucius Censorinus governor over Greece, he went into Asia, where he raised heavy taxes and contributions in every place to reward his soldiers; for he had promised to every one of them five thousand silver drachms. Besides, he employed much money to support his luxury in wine, women, feasting, music, and every other thing of that kind; which he gave himself excessively to. Wherever he came, he had his lodging thronged at his levee, by kings, princes, and their ambassadors to solicit his favour, several of them also bringing their wives and fair daughters, the better to obtain their ends. Among others, there came to him several Jews sent to accuse Phasaël and Herod ‡ for usurping the government from Hyrcanus. But Herod being present, by his money and interest with the triumvir, he so far prevailed,

* Ant. C. 41. Hyrc. II. 23. † Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1074. ‡ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 22. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 10.

vailed, that they could get no hearing. Not long after, there came to him other ambassadors out of Judea, praying that the lands and territories which Cassius had taken from the Jews might be restored; and that all of that nation whom he had unjustly sold into slavery, might be set free; both which petitions were readily granted.

Cleopatra queen of Egypt being summoned to answer for assisting Cassius, Bellius, who was sent with this message, having told her the whole of Anthony's weak side, she determined to put on her best airs in order to catch him. To this end she embarked in a vessel, whose stern was of gold, the sails of purple silk, the oars of silver, which gently kept time to a consort of excellent music. The queen herself was laid under a canopy of rich cloth of gold, adorned like Venus rising out of the sea, with children about her like cupids gently fanning her, and her women like neriads, or graces, with perfumes burning, that sent their fragrant favour at a good distance. In this posture she arrived in the river Cydnus, all the people going to behold her. Anthony upon invitation went to sup with her, and she drew him into those snare, which enslaved him as long as he lived, and in end ruined him.

Anthony, on his coming to Syria, deposed the tyrants whom Cassius had made in that country. At Daphne near Antioch, one hundred of the principal Jews came to him in another embassy, with the same complaints against the sons of Antipater as the former. He gave them a hearing: But

Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian de bellis civilibus, lib. 5 p. 1078.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 22.

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But Hyrcanus being asked whom he thought fittest to manage the government under him, he answered, "The two brothers;" and Anthony being inclined to favour them, because he had been obliged to their father when he was lieutenant in Syria under Gabinius, and also because he liked them on several other accounts, he made them both tetrarchs^b, and committed the affairs of Judea to their management. Yet, on Anthony's coming to Tyre, there came a thousand Jews to him with the same accusations against the two brothers. But Anthony looking on this as a tumult rather than an embassy, caused his foldiers to fall upon them; so as many of those Jews were slain, and more wounded. Anthony wanting money to pay his army, sent all his horse to Palmyra, to take the plunder of that city instead of their pay^c. Some suppose this place to have been the same which is called Tadmor in holy scriptures, 1 Kings, ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4. By the Greeks it was called Palmyra. In the middle of the third century, it became the seat of Oëdenathus and Zenobia^d. The Saracens again restored it to the name of Tadmor. It is now famous for nothing but ruins: Out of which, several monuments have been digged up; concerning which, the curious may consult a book, intitled *Antiquitates Palmyrenae*, printed at London in the year 1696, in octavo. The city stands one hundred and twenty-seven miles from Damascus, at the distance of a day's journey from the river Euphrates.

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phrates.

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 23. ^c Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1079. ^d Vide Trebellium Pollionem in duobus Gallenis & Vopiscum in Aureliano.

phrates. The Palmyrenians having timely notice of the design, before the troops arrived, removed all their families and effects to the other side of the Euphrates; where the invaders not being able to come at them^e, were forced to return without their prey: And on their recess, the Palmyrenians returned to their houses; and being exasperated with this usage, did from this time put themselves under the protection of the Parthians, which became one of the causes of the second Parthian war.

§ 45. Cleopatra having accompanied Anthony as far as Tyre, there took her leave of him, and returned into Egypt^f; but left him so ensnared in the fetters of love to her, that he could not stay long behind: And therefore, having appointed Plancus to be his lieutenant in the proper Asia, and Saxa in Syria, he made haste after her to Alexandria^g, where they spent the whole winter in mutual feasting, accompanied with scandalous lasciviousness and luxury. In the mean time, all Syria and Palestine, being grievously oppressed with taxes and tax-gatherers, joined with the Palmyrenians and those tyrants whom Anthony deposed^h for calling in the Parthians; which put the whole country in the utmost misery and confusion: For the Parthians, on this invitation passed the Euphrates with a great army, under the command of Pacorus the king's son, and Labienus a Roman general. This Labienus was the son of T. Labienus, who had been Cæsar's lieutenant in Gaul,

^e Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1079. ^f Ibid. ^g Dion Cassius, lib. 49. p. 424. Plutarch. in Cæfare & Antonio. ^h Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. & in Parthicis.

Gaul, but upon some discontent or other, went over to Pompey, and was slain fighting¹ against Cæsar at the battle of Munda. His son was sent by Brutus and Cassius to pray for the aid of the Parthian king; but upon the news of their overthrow and death who had sent him on this message, he undertook this command against the triumvirs². On the Parthians entering Syria, they vanquished Saxa in battle; and forced him to flee into Cilicia. After this, having divided their army, Labienus with one part of it having pursued Saxa into Cilicia, and there slain him³, over-ran all the Lesser Asia; and forcing Plancus to flee thence into the isles, brought all places under him as far as the Hellespont and the Ægean sea. At the same time, Pacorus, with the other part of their army, subdued all Syria and Phœnicia as far as Tyre, which alone stood out against him⁴; for the remainder of the Roman forces in that country having got thither before him, held out that place.

In the meantime Octavianus in Italy was busy in dividing the lands for satisfying the old soldiers. This exasperated many people who were stripped of their possessions, and brought many complaints to Rome; but it must be done, since the treasury being exhausted, there was no other way to satisfy the demands, and answer the promises made to the army. The cities of Mantua and Cremona suffered much in this distribution. There Vir-

U 2

gil

¹ Hirtius, de bello Hispaniensi. Plutarch. in Cæsar & Antonio. ² Liv. vii. Epitome, lib. 137. Florus, lib. 4. cap. 9. ³ Plutarch. in Antonio. ⁴ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 24. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 17. Dion Cassius, lib. 48. p. 425.

gil, the prince of the Latin poets, defending the possession of his small estate from Arrius, the centurian, very narrowly escaped death by swimming the river Mincius, which gave occasion for the first of his ecloguesⁿ. These contentions about the division of lands gave Antony's wife Fulvia, a woman of a martial spirit^o, an occasion to execute her designs. Her principal concern was, to bring home her husband from the snares of Cleopatra; which she believed nothing but a war could effectuate: And therefore she applied to Lucius Antonius, her husband's brother, then consul, with complaints against Octavianus. Rome and all Italy were then in misery^p, provisions being very dear, by reason that Sicily being possessed by Sextus Pompeius, (the only surviving son of Pompey the Great, his elder brother Cneius being killed at the battle of Munda) the army consumed the increase of the Land, and spoiled the trading cities. These things issued in a war, wherein Lucius Antonia^q was so hemmed in by Octavianus and Agrippa, that he was constrained to retreat to Perugia, a strong city in Hetruria, where by famine he was forced to surrender. Hence the proverb, *Perusina fames*^r. These disorders in Syria, in the Lesser Asia and in Italy, roused Mark Antony out of that Lethargy into which the charms of Cleopatra (who excelled all women^s in flattery) had plunged him. He having got together an army, and a fleet of two hundred ships, sailed first unto Tyre.

ⁿ Vide Virgilii Historiam a Carolo Ruzo præfixam editioni in usum Delphini, ad annum U. C. 713. Virgilii 30. ^o Plutarch. in Antonio. Florus, lib. 4. cap. 5. ^p Ant. C. 40. Hyrc. II. 24 ^q Florus, lib. 4. cap. 5. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1097.—1112. ^r Lucan. lib. 1. v. 41. ^s Plutarch. in Antonio.

Tyre. But on his putting in there, finding all the country round in the hands of the Parthians, and receiving lamentable letters of complaint from his wife Fulvia of her sufferings by Octavianus, he neglected the foreign enemy, and sailed to Italy against his colleague. But on his arrival, being informed that Fulvia was dead at Sicyon, to which place she had gone to meet him, he hearkened to the advice of his friends, to make up differences with Octavianus by marrying Octavia, his sister by the mother's side¹: On which terms peace being made up, they both went to Rome, where the marriage was solemnized with great pomp. The triumvirs made a partition of the Roman empire; whereby Lepidus had the province of Africa; Octavianus had Dalmatia, the two Gauls, Spain and Sardinia²; and Antony had all the eastern province beyond the Adriatic sea. The war against the Parthians was committed to his charge, and that against Sextus Pompeius, who had seized Sicily, to Octavianus: And it was agreed, that Italy should be common to them both for raising forces to carry on these wars.

§ 46. While these things were a-doing in Italy, Labienus ravaged all the Lesser Asia³, and Pacorus having taken Sidon and Ptolemais, sent a party to invade Judea, for making Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, king of that country: For Ptolemy, the son of Menæus, prince of Chalcis, dying this year, Lysanias his son, who succeeded him in that principality, having a great interest

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¹ Plutarch. in Antonio. Livii Epitome, lib. 127. Dion Cassius, lib. 49. p. 427. ² Ibid. ³ Idem ibidem. Florus, lib. 4. cap. 9. Appian. in Syriacis & in Parthiis.

with Barzapharnes, a chief commander in the Parthian army, under Pacorus, contracted with him in favours of Antigonus, to whom he was allied, as already * mentioned, that for a thousand talents, and five hundred Jewish women to be given to the Parthians by Antigonus, they should restore him to his father's kingdom †. This being ratified by Pacorus, he sent his cup-bearer, who was also called Pacorus, with part of his army from Ptolemais to see it put in execution. Antigonus having got together an army of Jews from about mount Carmel and elsewhere, marched upon the same design into Judea: And having vanquished in battle those who opposed him, and pursued them to the gates of Jerusalem, and got into the city, many skirmishes happened between him on the one side, and Phasaël and Herod on the other; in which the Antigonians being put to the worse, were forced to take shelter in the mountain of the temple; and the other party seized the palace; from which places many hot bickerings happened between both. These hostilities continued till the feast of Pentecost, when great numbers of people coming to Jerusalem from all parts, some joining one side, and some the other, produced a great deal of bloodshed. To compose those differences, Antigonus cunningly proposed to call in Pacorus, the cup-bearer, to arbitrate the matter, who being admitted with five hundred horse which he had without the wall of the city, and himself lodged at Phasaël's house, he prevailed with Phasaël to go on an embassy to Barzapharnes, who governed

* See page 290. † Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 24. & de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 11.

verned Syria under Pacorus. Accordingly Phasael, against the opinion of his brother Herod, went, taking Hyrcanus along with him; and the cup-bearer conducted them on their way, till another guard met them, and then he returned to Jerusalem. Barzapharnes at first received them with an appearance of kindness; but as soon as he thought the cup-bearer was got to Jerusalem to seize Herod, he made both Hyrcanus and Phasael prisoners². Herod having notice of this treachery, got out of Jerusalem, taking with him his whole family and best effects, and as many prisoners as he had at hand, in order to go to Massada, a strong fortress on a mountain on the west side of the lake Asphaltites. In his march thither he repulsed several parties, both of the Parthians and Antigoni-ans. At Reffa, in Idumæa, his brother Joseph met him with some more forces. Massada not being capable of containing all his company, he dismissed 9000 of them. Of the remainder he put 800 into the castle, with his mother, sister, and other women of quality, whom he brought out of Judea: And having furnished the fortress with provisions for several months, and left his brother Joseph to command there in chief, Herod himself marched to Petra in Arabia: But not being received there, he went to Rhinocorura in Egypt, where he had account of the death of Phasael: For the Parthians, when they found Herod gone from Jerusalem, after plundering the country, made Antigonus king of Judea, and put Hyrcanus and Phasael in chains. Phasael knowing his death to be determined, to prevent

² Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 15. De bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 17.

prevent the executioner, beat out his brains against the wall of the prison. The life of Hyrcanus was spared: But to incapacitate him from being high-priest, Antigonus caused cut out his ears (for, by the law, Lev. xxi. 16,—24. none who had any imperfection in his body could enjoy that office;) and afterwards he delivered him to the Parthians, who carried him to the east, whither they were obliged to go sooner than they intended.

For Antony, after his agreement with Octavianus, sent Ventidius, one of his lieutenants against the Parthians, who soon cleared all the Roman territories of them. He came into Asia with such expedition^a, that he surprized Labienus before he was prepared to withstand him: And therefore, not daring to stand the approach of a Roman army, he retired to mount Taurus, and sent to Pacorus for assistance. Ventidius soon came upon them, and entirely routed them. Florus tell us^b, That the Romans engaged so close hand to hand with the Parthians, that the enemy could make no use of their arrows as formerly they had done. Pacorus and Labienus were killed; and thus Crassus's overthrow was compensated by a victory at mount Amanus. Ventidius defeated another body of Parthians, killing their general Pharnabates; and then as victor passed into Syria. The remainder of the Parthian army was glad to retire over the Euphrates, leaving all on this side that river to the Romans: And Plutarch^c informs us, That for these victories Antony obtained to Ventidius the honour

^a Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. in Parthicis, p. 168, &c de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1127. Dion Cassius, lib. 48. p. 435, 436. ^b Lib. 4. cap. 9. ^c In Antonio.

of a triumph, being the only Roman that ever triumphed over the Parthians to this day.

§ 47. In the meantime Herod from Rhinocorura went to Pelusium, and from thence to Alexandria, where taking ship, he passed by the way of Rhodes and Brundisium to Rome^d, where he applied to Antony, informing him of the lamentable state of all his affairs in Judea, and praying for his aid. Antony, for the friendship he had first with his father, and then with himself, and for the sake of a great sum of money promised, undertook to assist him, and did much more than was expected: For whereas the utmost of Herod's design was to obtain the kingdom for Aristobulus, the brother of Mariamne his wife, who being the son of Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and of Alexander the son of Aristobulus, had the title of both these brothers, proposing only for himself that he might govern the country under him, as his father had done under this young man's grandfather. Antony managed the matter so as the crown was given to Herod himself, though the Romans used not to pass the Royal line, and give the crown of a dependent kingdom to an alien. Octavianus also favoured the design to gratify Antony; and in gratitude to the family of Antipater, who had so seasonably assisted his uncle Julius Caesar in Egypt^e. The matter being thus concerted, Messala and Arratinus, two senators, introduced Herod into the senate-house, where they set forth the merits of his father and him, and the evil deserts of Antigonus, who had brought in the Parthians upon

^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 25. & de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 11.

^e Ibid. cap. 26, 27. de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 11.

upon the Roman empire: The royal dignity was conferred on Herod; and Antigonus declared an enemy to the Roman state. Herod having so good success in this affair, made haste back again to Judea; for he tarried in Rome only seven days, and accomplished his whole journey by sea and land in three months. On his arrival he took care to relieve his mother, sister, and friends, who were shut up in Massada, where Antigonus ever since his departure closely besieged them: And at one time they were in so great a strait for water, that Joseph resolved to make his escape; but that very night a plentiful shower of rain filled their cisterns, and put them in capacity of holding out till Herod relieved them. On his return he raised an army either of foreigners or Jews as he could find them; and with these and some Roman auxiliaries which he had from Ventidius and Silo his lieutenant, he made himself master of all Galilee, some few places excepted, took Joppa, raised the siege of Massada; and from thence marched to Samaria, where having placed his mother, his sister, with his other friends, he passed into Galilee, where he reduced Sepphoris, and other places which held for Antigonus*; and then took care to rid it of those thieves that infested it, ferreting them out of their holes. This being done, he gave to each of his soldiers a donative of 150 drachms in money, to the officers more, and dismissed them into winter-quarters.

§ 48. At Rome Octavianus and Antony having agreed, came also to an accommodation with Sextus Pompeius,

* Ant. C. 39. Antig. 1.

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Pompeius, who possessing the isles of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, by his strong navy hindered provisions from coming to the city; which put the people in danger of starving. This made a peace more necessary, which was at last concluded on the following terms: "That the said Pompey should retain Sicily and Sardinia for five years, being obliged to rid the sea of pirates, that it might be safe for merchants and passengers; and should pay to Rome the same quantity of corn as was usual out of Sicily; and that all proscribed persons, except such as were guilty of Cæsar's death, should have liberty to return to the city, and to enjoy a fourth part of their estates." This being done, Antony, with his wife Octavia, went to Athens, where he kept a free table for entertaining the Grecians; and after he had heard of the victories of his lieutenant over the Parthians, spent the winter in feasting, games and amusements. Dion Cassius^c observes, That Anthony, contrary to the custom of his country, allowed himself to be called Bacchus, and to be married to Minerva, but obliged the Athenians to pay a good sum for her dowery. Ventidius might probably have carried his victories further into the dominions of the Parthians, if he had not been afraid to offend Antony by doing too much: And therefore being content with the honour of a triumph offered to him, after this he lived privately in the city to the day of his death^d, and had a public funeral made for him at the charges of the commonwealth.

Orodes,

^c Plutarch. in Antonio. Livii Epitome, lib. 127. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1128.—1132. Dion Cassius, lib. 48. p. 432. ^d Lib. 49. p. 434. ^e A. Gellius, lib. 15 cap. 4.

Orodes, king of Parthia, hearing that his forces were defeated in Syria, and his son killed, was so overwhelmed with grief, that he turned almost mad. For several days he spoke not a word, nor cared for any meat¹; and when he began to utter words, he cried still, *Pacorus!* expressing his lamentations with a flood of tears. Indeed this overthrow was the greatest that the Parthians had ever received from the Romans; and the loss of Pacorus made it yet greater to them; for he was a prince of great valour and clemency. After his death Phraates killed his father Orodes², and reigned in his stead, several Roman gentlemen, who lived as exiles in Parthia, and some Parthians also, knowing his cruel temper, fled out of his dominions.

In Judea Herod carried on the war against Antigonus, Macharas, a Roman general, was sent by the order of Antony with two legions, and a thousand horse, to his assistance¹. Macharas approached Jerusalem to converse with Antigonus: But he suspecting him to be corrupted by Herod, caused the archers and slingers beat him back from the walls; which put the general into such a rage, that, retiring from Emaus, he killed all the Jews who came in his way, whether friends or foes. Herod having some of his friends there cut off, could not bear it with patience, but went to Samaria; and thence hastened to Antony to make complaint of this outrage. Macharas went after him, and having overtaken him, they two patched up an agreement. However Herod continued his

¹ Justin, lib. 42. cap. 4.

² Plutarch. in Crasso in fine, & in Antonio.

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 27. de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 12.

forces was so almost d, nor to ut- g his d this as had los of e was ter his and emen, thians is do- ft An- ant by thou- coach- : But caus- from rage, Jews foes. it off, to Sa- make after bat- in- ued his

his journey to Antony, whom he found besieging Samosata, which Antiochus, king of Comagena, held. Ventidius had begun the siege, and Antiochus had offered him 1000 talents for his peace. This not being accepted of, because he desired it to be done by his master; and Ventidius, to whom the offer was made, being gone into Italy, Antony continued the siege: But the besieged growing valiant, upon finding the best offers they could make refused; and the soldiers finding their captain gone, under whom they had gained so many noble victories, relented of their vigour, and became mutinous; which obliged Antony for three hundred talents, to remove and raise the siege. Then Antony having appointed Sosius his lieutenant in Cilicia, Syria and Palestine, left the army with him, sailed to Athens, and thence to Brundisium, to confer with Octavianus: But not finding him there, he returned to Athens, and thence to Alexandria; where he spent the winter in pleasures with Cleopatra, as he had done two years before.

While Herod was absent, attending upon Antony, Joseph, forgetting the orders he had received from his brother, made an expedition against Jericho, taking with him his own men, and five cohorts received from Machabæus; but being there circumvented by the enemy, himself was slain, and most of his forces cut in pieces. Whereupon these that were disaffected to Herod in Galilee and Idumæa, revolted from him: Of which he being informed, as he returned from Antony; and

Antonio.

and having got at mount Libanus eight hundred men, and one Roman cohort^a, he marched thence to Ptolemais, where he received another cohort; with which assistance he soon made the revolvers in Galilee to submit. After that he went to Jericho to revenge his brother's death: But the Antigoniens in these parts overpowering him with their numbers, put his army to the rout, and wounded Herod himself in the conflict. Having got more forces, and finding that Pappus, a prime general of Antigonus's party, had taken the field, he engaged him in battle, and gained an absolute victory over him; and had it not been for the winter season, he had then taken Jerusalem; but his soldiers being much fatigued, he put them into winter-quarters, and delayed further action till next season.

§ 50. Antony, next spring^{*}, leaving Alexandria, came to Athens; where, having taken in his wife Octavia, he passed to Italy with a fleet of 300 sail, and landed at Tarentum. Jealousies at that time were like to arise between Octavianus and Antony; but Octavia mediating between her husband and her brother, made up all matters. Whereas the five years for which the sovereign government of the Roman empire was given to the triumvirs by the people were expired, they prolonged it for five years more by their own authority^o. After this Antony returned to Syria, to make preparations for the Parthian war. Octavia accompanied him as far as Corcyra; but, that she might not be exposed

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14 cap. 27. & de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 13.

^{*} Ant. C. 38. Antigona. 2. ^o Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5 p. 1145.

posed unto dangers, he sent her back to Italy till the war should be over, committing her, and his children, which he had either by herself or by Fulvia his former wife, to the care of Octavianus his colleague. Upon Antony's return into Syria, Octavianus married Livia Drusilla, the daughter of Livius Drusus. She was first the wife of Tiberius Nero^p, and by her he had Tiberius Cæsar, who succeeded Augustus in the empire. Octavianus had a former wife, called Scribonia, whom he divorced for her intolerable temper sometime after she had born him his daughter Julia. At the time when he matched with this Livia Drusilla, she was six months gone with child to her former husband yet alive. This child was born in Augustus's house; and being called Drusus, was given to Tiberius the proper father. Octavianus kept Livia as his wife as long as he lived; and though she bore him no children, she had always a great interest in his affection, and a mighty ascendant over him.

§ 51. In the mean time Herod having made great preparations for this year's campaign, marched with his forces directly to the walls of Jerusalem; where he ordered the casting up of such works against it as were then thought proper for taking the place. While this was a doing, he went to Samaria, and there consummated his marriage with Mariamne^q. He had betrothed her four years before^r, but his troubles hindered him from marrying her till now. The Jews in those days having generally a great affection for the family

^p Sueton. in Augusto, cap. 62.

^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 27. in fine. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 13.

^r See page 290.

family of the Asmonæans, Herod expected by marrying this fair lady that he would easily reconcile the whole nation to himself. On his return to his army before Jerusalem^c, Sosius the governor of Syria, being ordered to do his utmost for subduing Antigonus, and putting Herod in full possession of the kingdom of Judea, he joined Herod, and pushed on the siege with great vigour. Both of them together had an army of of eleven legions and six thousand horse, which would amount to above sixty thousand men. However the place held out above half a year. At last the Jews being beat out of all their places of defence, the city was taken^d. The enemies entering on every side, made themselves masters thereof; and being exasperated with the length of, and the labour they endured in the siege, they filled every place of the town with rapine, bloodshed and devastation. Herod did what he could to hinder such a sackage, but Sosius encouraged his soldiers to it, alledging the spoils were their due; which obliged the prince, who counted now the city to be his own, to redeem it from utter ruin by a sum of money. Antigonus finding all lost, cast himself at Sosius's feet, begging compassion. But Sosius despising his womanly cowardice, called him Antigona and ordered him to be cast in chains: And at the desire of Herod he was put to death with the same indignities as if he had been a common criminal; for they first whipt him at a stake, and then killed him. Plutarch^e and Dion Cassius^f say, that no king had

before

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 28. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 13.
^d Ant. C. 37. Herod the Great 1. ^e In Antonio. ^f Lib. 49 p. 463.

before suffered the like death by the Romans. Here ends the reign of the Asmonæans, when it had continued, from the government of Judas Maccabæus to this time, one hundred and twenty nine years.

On the taking of Jerusalem, Herod was put in the thorough possession of all Judea; but the greater part of the Jews, as long as any of the old Asmonæan family were alive, out of their affection to them, and out of hatred to this upstart, could not be induced to own him for their king². But Herod having forced his way to the throne by a great deal of bloodshed, he established himself in the same manner: For in the first year of his government, he put several of the opposite faction to death, and all the counsellors of the Sanhedrim, except Pollio and Sameas. These two, during the siege, had declared for yielding the city to Herod, and for receiving him as their king, saying, *The sins of the people were so great, that God would deliver them to this man for their punishment.* But the rest of the Sanhedrim cried violently, *The temple of the Lord! the temple of the Lord!* as if for the sake thereof God would certainly protect the city¹, thus encouraging the people to an obstinate defence: And therefore Herod having got them into his power, put them all to death, except Pollio and Sameas. These two are called by the Jewish writers Hillel and Schammai, their names are of the greatest note among all the Mishnical doctors, that is, those who superadded traditions to the written word, from the time of Simon the Just to the time wherein Rabbi Judah

¹ Joseph. Anti. lib. 15, cap. 2.
cap. 1.

² Ibid. lib. 14 cap. 28. & lib. 15.

Hakkadosh compiled the Mishna. But of the several sorts of doctors among the Jews, of their Mishna, Targums and Talmuds, I shall have occasion to discourse in the following part of this work, and therefore now go on with the history.

§ 52. Sosius, whom Antony had left governor in Syria on his going to Italy, finding that Ventidius had lost his favour by doing too much for him in the Parthian war, resolved that he would do no more^a. But he had done too much already, by placing Herod in the quiet possession of Judea: And therefore as soon as Antony returned to Syria, he removed him from that government; and put Plancus, governor of Asia, in his room, and sent C. Furnius to govern Asia in Plancus's stead.

On the death of Antigonus, Herod made Ananelus high-priest in his place^a, though he was only an obscure person residing among the Jews in Babylonia; but being of the family of the priests, and formerly well known to Herod, he sent for him and put him in that office; for being a man of no interest at Jerusalem, he thought he never could interfere with the regal authority.

When Phraates came to possess the crown of Parthia, tho' he shewed cruelty to his own brethren by putting them to death, yet he expressed kindness to Hyrcanus the old captive prince of the Jews: For he ordered him to be released from his chains^b, and to live at his liberty among the Jews in that country, who respected him as their king. But when Hyrcanus heard that Herod did

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^a Dion Cassius, lib. 49. p. 463. Appian de bellis civilibus, lib. 5.

^b Ant. C. 36. Herod. 2. ^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 23. ^d Id. ibid.

reign in Judea, whose life he had once preserved when arraigned before the Sanhedrim^a; nothing would please the old man but to return to his own country; and Herod, though with another view, was as earnest to have him there: For he feared some turn or other might happen to bring this old prince again to the throne; and therefore he desired to have him in his power, that he might cut him off if he should see occasion. To this end he not only invited the old man to come to Judea, but also sent an embassy to solicit the permission of Phraates; and having succeeded according to his wish in these particulars, the unfortunate old Hyrcanus, contrary to the advice of his friends, left Babylonia and returned to Jerusalem; where Herod for some time treated him with all seeming respect, till at length he found a pretence to put him to death, as shall be afterwards observed.

§ 53. Publius Canidius, one of Antony's lieutenants, having overcome the Armenians, Iberians and Albanians^a, and carried his victorious arms as far as mount Caucasus; Antony being proud of this success, resolved to prosecute a war against the Parthians, to revenge the death of Crassus, and of the Romans who perished with him at Carræ. In his preparations he made use of the advice of one Monæses, a Parthian gentleman, who had fled from Phraates's cruelty^c: And to engage him to his service, he allowed him the revenues of three cities, viz. of Larissa, Arethusa and Hierapolis; promising, that on conquering the

^a See page 271, 272. ^b Dion Cassius, lib. 49. p. 464. Plutarch. in Antonio. Strabo, lib. 11. p. 501. ^c Idem ibidem, & Appianus in Parthiis, p. 279.—293.

the country, he would make him king thereof. But while the projects were forming, ambassadors came from Phraates to invite Monaces home to Parthia, with offers which he thought fit to accept. Antony sent with him proposals of peace, which had no effect. Therefore Antony having gathered an army of above a hundred thousand men, Romans and Auxiliaries, he marched from Syria into Parthia. Artabazes king of Armenia, one of the auxiliaries, led the army by a way so far about, that before Antony arrived at the place intended for beginning the war, the army was so fatigued, and so much of the year spent, that the general had not time sufficient to execute what he intended. However, to make all the expedition possible to return to Cleopatra, with the poison of whose love he was bewitched as to ruin his best designs, he over-marched his heavy carriage, leaving Statianus with a guard of ten thousand men, to bring after him three hundred waggon loaded with battering-rams, of which one was eighty feet long, and other military engines for sieges. With the rest of his army he besieged Phraata the capital of Media. But he could do nothing to purpose in this siege without the engines, which never came to his hand: For the Parthians encountering Statianus, cut off his ten thousand men, burnt all the heavy carriages, and seized the rest of the baggage; which was a great loss to the Roman army: For the Parthians daily harassed them in the siege, and cut off their foragers; and though Antony endeavoured to bring the enemy to a general engagement, yet when he had done so, and put them to the rout, the Parthians

Parthians being all horsemen, fled so fast, as there were only eighty of them slain, and thirty taken prisoners. At last Antony, for want of provisions, was forced to leave the siege, and depart homeward. In his retreat, he had three hundred miles of the Parthian country to go through, before he came to the borders of Armenia, where he was entangled with many difficulties and dangers, but was much obliged to a faithful Mardian soldier who conducted him. The Parthian army eighteen times assailed him; and though he as often repulsed them, yet it was with greater loss to him than to the enemy. Thrice he was in danger of being undone by ambushes, but he had seasonable notice of them twice by Monases, and once by an old Roman soldier who had remained in that country since the defeat of Crassus. Passing thro' Armenia in the winter, when the country was covered with snow, though he had no enemy to encounter, yet by the rigour of the season and climate, he lost a great many men, so as Florus tells^a, he scarce brought back the third part of his army which he had carried out of Syria. Velleius Paterculus^b says, scarce a fourth. And if so, though he met not with such a shameful overthrow as Crassus, wherein 20,000 were killed, and 10,000 taken prisoners, yet if Antony brought back only the third part of his army, he must have lost about 60,000 men in this unsuccessful expedition; which justifies the observation of some authors, that this great man was more prosperous when his wars were managed by his lieutenants,

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than

^a Appian. Parthicus, p. 290.

^b Lib. 2. cap. 82.

^c Florus, lib. 3. cap. 19.

than by himself, which I think will particularly hold, after he was ensnared with love to the queen of Egypt.

Indeed the main cause of all his misfortunes was his immoderate affection to that lascivious woman Cleopatra. He sent for her into Syria, where she influenced him to put many of the nobility to death, that she might have their forfeited estates, among whom was Lyfanius, the son of Ptolemy Menæus prince of Chalcis and Ituræa¹, whom she ruined on a false accusation of confederating with the Parthian, and had his dominions granted to her. Antony's staying with her retarded his Parthian expedition, which made him come so late in the year, that he had no time for the operations of the campaign; and he hastened to return to her, before he had done any thing to purpose: So that coming over the mountains of Armenia, when covered with snow, he lost eight thousand more of his men²; which brought them to a small number, as hath been observed.

§ 54. While these things were a-doing in the east, great changes happened in the west; for Sextus Pompeius not performing the treaty made with the triumvirs³, Octavianus went to war with him; wherein he and Lepidus subdued him by sea and land. Agrippa destroyed his fleet, his land forces surrendered to Octavianus, and Pompey himself fled to Antony in the east⁴. Lepidus became proud of this victory, but did not long enjoy the fruit thereof; for Octavianus had the interest

¹ Plutarchus in Antonio. Joseph Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 4. ² Livii. Epit. lib. 130. ³ See p. 303. ⁴ Livii Epit. lib. 129, 129. Florus lib. 4. cap. 8.

interest to make the whole army declare against him; which so damped the poor triumvir, that quitting the marks of his authority, he, in a mourning gown threw himself at Octavianus's feet, only begging his life. The soldiers would have killed him; but Cæsar only thought fit to banish him into Circeii, a maritime town of the Latins^a, where he ended his life in obscurity and contempt. Fortune had raised him to be one of the three governors of the Roman empire; but he had neither wisdom nor valour for that high station. After this, Antony and Octavianus kept the whole Roman empire between them: The former held all the east, from the borders of Illyricum, and the Adriatic sea to Egypt, and the latter all the western part of the world; who, though he was no more than twenty-eight years of age when he attained to all this power, yet he maintained it for many years with great prosperity.

When Antony had returned from his Parthian expedition into Syria, he sent for Cleopatra, waiting for her with impatience at Leucecome, a castle between Sidon and Berytus^{*o}. Upon her arrival she produced great quantities of clothing for the army, which was all shattered and in rags, after their return from Parthia. These clothes, with a good deal of money which came from Antony himself, was given as a donative to the army in the name of Cleopatra. This being done, Antony returned with her into Egypt, and there spent the

^a Dion Cassius, lib. 49. p. 455, 456. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1159.—1174. Suetonius in Octavio, cap. 16. & 54. Vell. Paternulus, lib. 2. cap. 80. ^{*o} Ant. C. 35. Herod. 3) ^o Plutarch. in Antonio.

the remainder of the winter in luxury and pleasures.

In Judea, Alexandra, Herod's mother-in-law, could not bear that Ananelus, an obscure person, should be high-priest, and her son Aristobulus, the grandchild of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, who had been both princes in that country, should be secluded; and therefore she and her daughter Mariamne, the beautiful wife of Herod, were still teasing him about this matter. She also, by letters to Cleopatra, and by one Dellius her messenger, engaged Anthony and Cleopatra to favour this interest; so as Herod found it necessary for his affairs to depose Ananelus, and make Aristobulus, his brother-in-law, a youth then of seventeen years of age, high-priest in his stead. This seemed pleasing to the two ladies, and to the generality of the people: But Alexandra knowing that her son had as good a claim to the kingdom as the high-priesthood, pursued the same means for obtaining this also. Herod smelling out her correspondence, and understanding the design thereof, confined her to her palace, and set spies upon her to watch all her steps. She resented this confinement with great indignation; and to remedy it, formed a plot to escape with her son unto Cleopatra queen of Egypt, who had invited them thither. In order to this end, a ship was provided at the next sea-port; and they being put into two coffins, were carried aboard. Herod knowing the whole contrivance, seized the ship with Alexandra and her son, but durst not openly resent what was done, for fear of Anthony and Cleopatra;

Cleopatra; and therefore pretended to pardon that which he was afraid to punish; but resolved to take the first occasion to rid himself of Aristobulus. He was right heir to the crown, which Herod by favour of the Romans had taken from him; and being a very beautiful young man, the usurper feared, lest by the favour of so great patrons as Anthony and Cleopatra, he might soon gain it. Besides, he observed, that this young man became the favourite of the people; so as when he officiated as high-priest, he captivated the affections of the whole assembly. This raised the jealousy of the tyrant, that he had no longer patience to bear him: For after the festival he carried him to an entertainment at Jericho; where, after dinner, Herod's attendants bathing themselves in a fish pond, Aristobulus was persuaded to go in with them; and when he dipped under the water, Herod's servants held him down till he was drowned to death. This was pretended to be done out of sport. Herod mourned for him, and gave him a sumptuous burial: But every body saw through the hypocrisy, and none more than Alexandra, who could not be comforted for the loss of her beautiful son, the only surviving male-heir of the Asmonæan family.

All this while Anthony lay idle at Alexandria, spending the whole year in dalliances with Cleopatra. Though opportunities were offered of revenging the Roman cause upon the Parthians, yet he neglected them all for his pleasures: For Anthony was no sooner returned, than the kings of Media and Parthia fell out about the prey taken from

from Statianus⁹. The king of Media being deprived of his share, sent an embassy to Anthony, offering to assist him with all his forces against the Parthian. This offer Anthony accepted of, with good reason; for the Median horse would have been very useful to fight against the Parthians, whose strength consisted in cavalry: and the Parthians were then weakened by commotions and rebellions occasioned by their king's cruelty. A more favourable juncture than this could not have happened: But Octavia being come as far as Athens in her way to Anthony her husband, Cleopatra feared, that if they should meet, she would be excluded from his affection. To prevent this, she set all her arts to work, abstaining from meat, and pretending his absence would kill her; and she succeeded so far, that he laid aside the expedition, and wrote to Octavia at Athens to proceed no further; which became the first rise of the breach between him and Octavianus.

§ 55. This year did put an end to the family and faction of Pompey the Great. He left only two sons, Cneius and Sextus; Cneius the eldest was slain in Spain after the battle at Munda¹, and Sextus the younger son was expelled Sicily, as hath been before observed¹. He had retired to Lesbos, and there lived a while private among the Mitylenians; but hearing of the bad success of Anthony's expedition against the Parthians, he thought an opportunity offered to raise himself; and therefore passing over the continent of the Lesser Asia, he there got a small army together, with

⁹ Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 49. p. 470. ¹ See p. 296.
¹ See p. 315.

with which he made several desperate pushes for restoring his fortune; but failing in them all, he was this year taken and put to death by Titius, one of Anthony's lieutenants. When Anthony had notice of his being taken, he wrote to Titius to put him to death: But soon after repenting of this order, he gave a second to save him alive. The messenger who carried the letters of mercy arrived first: But Titius executing his letters not according to the sense, but according to the order of time in which he received them, put his captive to death; which rendered him so odious to the Roman people, out of the regard they had to Pompey's family, that they^u hissed him out of the public theatre. Here ends Appian's account of the civil wars, being the last of this author's works that now remain.

§ 56. Alexandra by letters acquainted Cleopatra of the murder of her son^x, and possessed her so effectually with the villany of Herod, that she never left soliciting Anthony, till he promised to call him to an account for it: And therefore Anthony going early this year into Syria, in which journey Cleopatra accompanied him, he cited Herod to appear before him, and answer this accusation. But Herod, by fair words, and large promises, so softened Anthony, that nothing could be done against him; though Cleopatra used all arts to ruin him, not merely to gratify Alexandra, but also out of a covetous desire to have his kingdom granted to herself. But Anthony satisfied her,

^t Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib 5. p. 1188. Dion Cassius, lib 49 p. 450.

^u Vell. Patercul lib. 2. cap. 79.

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15 cap. 4.

^y Ant. C. 34. Herod 4.

her, by giving her Coeleſyria inſtead of Judea, and ſo the accuſation was dropt. Herod, on his leaving Judea, to go and be judged by Anthony, appointed Joſeph his uncle to adminiſter the government in his abſence, and gave him in charge, That in caſe Anthony ſhould put him to death, (as his murder of Ariſtobulus deſerved) "he ſhould cut off his beſt beloved wife Mariamne." This he did, that none but himſelf, and eſpecially Mark Anthony, who he heard had profeſſed a paſſion for his wife, might ever enjoy ſo great a beauty. Joſeph, during Herod's abſence, frequently waited on Mariamne, and one day told her, "That Herod had ſuch an affection to her, that he could not live without her;" and upon ſome further diſcourſe, blabbed out the whole matter. This exceedingly offended Mariamne and Alexandra her mother; ſo as on a flying report that Herod was put to death, they reſolved to put themſelves under the protection of a Roman legion. But letters coming to hand, that Herod was not only in ſafety, but alſo in great favour with Anthony, and himſelf ſoon arriving, ſtopt this deſign. On his arrival, Salome his ſiſter, the wife of Joſeph, told him what had been doing in his abſence, and filled his mind with jealousy of Mariamne: But he ſoon found there was no reaſon for this ſuſpicion, and therefore profeſſed great affection to his wife. "Yes, indeed" (ſays ſhe) "it is a notable ſign of your love, to order to put your innocent wife to death, in caſe you ſhould die yourſelf." At theſe words, Herod flew in the utmoſt fury, concluding that nothing but an adulterous converſation could make Joſeph betray ſuch

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such a secret to her: But being satisfied as to her innocence, he vented his wrath, by putting Joseph to death, without allowing him to speak for himself, and clapping Alexandra into prison, as the root and cause of all the mischief.

Cleopatra following Anthony into Syria, was there continually soliciting him for grants of provinces, she being as insatiable in her covetousness as in her lust. She had already obtained of him Cyrene, Cyprus¹, Coele Syria, Ituræa, and Phœnicia, and fain also would have had Judea from Herod, and Arabia from Malichus, and desired these two kings to be put to death, that she might have their kingdoms for a prey². But Anthony would not grant this last request: However, to quiet her, he gave her out of Malichus's kingdom that part of it which bordered upon Egypt, and out of Herod's, the territory of Jericho, with the balsam gardens that grew there. By these largesses to such a woman, he very much offended the Roman people. From Syria, Anthony marched into Armenia. Cleopatra accompanied him as far as the Euphrates; from whence returning by the way of Apamea and Damascus, she came to Jerusalem, where she was splendidly entertained by Herod. While there, she pretended love to him, and would willingly have drawn him into her embraces³. But he abhorred her: And no wonder; for she had endeavoured to persuade Anthony to deprive him both of his life and kingdom: For which reason, he had inclinations to put her to death. But his friends dissuaded him from

¹ Plutarch in Antonio.

² Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15 cap. 4. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 13.

³ Idem, Antiq. lib. 15 cap. 5.

from such an attempt, for fear of Anthony's resentments; and therefore he entertained her with all splendor while she tarried in Judea, and upon her departure waited upon her to the borders of Egypt. However, fearing her malice, and the tumultuous temper of the Jews, he made Massada a very strong place, as particularly described by Josephus^b, and furnished it with arms for ten thousand men, that he might there have a safe retreat in case of any danger.

In the mean time, Anthony in Armenia having by treachery drawn Artabazes king of that country into his power, made him his prisoner, and seized his kingdom. This prince had deserted Anthony in the former Parthian war; but now he must either go to him, or enter into a disadvantageous war against him. Upon all the securities that sacred oaths and solemn promises could give for his return, he ventured into the Roman camp; where he was no sooner arrived, than, contrary to all those obligations^c, he was clapped in to chains; which Paternulus^d says, were made of gold, to do him honour. The Armenians resented this with indignation, as it deserved; and having put Artaxias, the eldest son of the captivated king, on the throne, they marched with all their forces to revenge this perfidy. But Anthony having overthrown them in battle, and driven Artaxias to take shelter in Parthia, most of the country submitted to him, and the rest were reduced by force. But the perfidy of seizing a confederate king was looked on at Rome as dishonourable, and

^b De bello Judaico lib. 7. cap. 27. ^c Livii epitoma, lib. 137. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. c. 3. Dion Cassius, lib. 49. p. 474. ^d Lib. 2. c. 82.

and Octavianus, in his speeches, both to the senate and people^c, made this one of the reasons of the war that afterwards broke out between him and Anthony; who, after he had contracted a marriage for Alexander, one of his sons by Cleopatra, with a daughter of the king of Media, leaving the gross of his army in Armenia, he returned with the rest to Alexandria; where he entered the city in a triumphal chariot, causing the prey taken in Armenia with king Artabazes, his wife and children, and other prisoners, to be carried before him in the same manner as used to be done in triumphs at Rome, with this difference, that the procession here ended at a place where Cleopatra was seated in a golden throne, on a scaffold overlaid with silver, surrounded by the people on every side. The Romans looking on the ceremony of a triumph as peculiar to their city, took it grievously ill that Anthony carried it to Egypt to honour a lewd woman. However, Anthony, when he had feasted the people at Alexandria^f, carried them to the place of public games; where, on the scaffold already mentioned, Anthony being seated on a throne of gold, and Cleopatra on another, he made an oration to them, declaring Cæsarion, the supposed son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, to be king of Egypt, of Cyprus, and of the Lower Syria, in conjunction with his mother^g. And whereas he himself had three children by the same Cleopatra, he gave to Alexander, the eldest, Armenia, Media, and Parthia; to Ptolemy, the youngest son, he gave Phœnicia, Syria, and

^c Dion Cassius, lib. 50. p. 479. ^f Dion Cassius, lib. 49. p. 475. Plutarch in Antonio. ^g Idem, ibidem.

and Cilicia, bringing them out in habits like the princes of those countries. As to his daughter Cleopatra, he had already made a match for her, as hath been observed. About the same time, he gave to queen Cleopatra the name of Isis, and to himself that of Osiris, appearing often after this, in the habit of those deities. By all these actions, he alienated from him the affections of the Romans.

§ 57. Next year Anthony went into Armenia, with design to make war on the Parthians *: But the war then commencing between him and Octavianus, hindered him from doing any thing against the Parthian. Octavianus had been preparing against Anthony, and by several speeches had excited the senate and people of Rome to declare war. On the other side, Anthony sent Canidius one of his lieutenants, to the coast of the Ionian sea, with sixteen legions; and after he had renewed a league with the Median king, he himself hastened to Ephesus; in which journey he carried Cleopatra with him, which ruined all his affairs. She would go, fearing^b lest in her absence, a peace should be made on terms of Anthony's receiving Octavia, and excluding herself. Her strongest argument was, that she had advanced twenty thousand talents, which comes to about four millions of our Sterling money, to the expence of the war, and therefore it was reasonable, that at her desire she should be present. Many causes were pretended for the commencing of these commotions; as the injury which Anthony had done to Octavia his lawful wife,

* Ant. C. 33. Herod 5.

^b Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 49. & 50.

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wife, by preferring Cleopatra, though Octavia was the younger and more handsome of the two; his declaring Julius Cæsar to have been married to Cleopatra, and that Cæsarion was his lawful son: For this was to bring an heir over the head of Octavianus the adopted son, to dispossess him of the inheritance; and his giving so many provinces, as hath been mentioned, to Cleopatra and her children. But the true cause was, that neither Anthony nor Octavianus could bear a partner in the Roman empire; each of them would have the whole. From Ephesus, Anthony passed to Samos, and thence to Athens, in which two places, he and Cleopatra spent the most part of the year in luxury¹, music, games, and pleasures.

Anthony next year^{*} sent a bill of divorce², with messengers to Rome to drive her out of his house. He advanced in his preparations far sooner than Octavianus, who was detained at Rome levying money, and with these exactions all Italy was oppressed. If Anthony had pushed the war without losing of time, probably he might have carried it; but his indulging his pleasures at Samos and Athens, proved his ruin. Besides, while he delayed, many of his friends deserted him; among whom were Plancus and Titius, whom Cleopatra's ill usage drove away, to his great prejudice; for they being privy to all his counsels, disclosed the same to Octavianus; particularly they discovered that Anthony had made an extravagant will in favours of Cleopatra and her children, to the dishonour and damage of the Ro-

¹ Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 49, & 50. ^{*} Ant. C. 32. Herod. 5. ² Livell epitoma, lib. 232. Plutarch. in Antonio.

man state, and lodged it with the vestal virgins¹; which being produced and publicly read, did very much excite the people against him. Octavianus caused the war to be decreed only against Cleopatra; which served his purpose better than if Anthony's name had been inserted. Both parties called all their friends and allies to their help: Octavianus had all the west, and Anthony all the east. Anthony's forces by sea and land, consisted of one hundred thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and five hundred ships of war; and Octavianus had eighty thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and two hundred and fifty ships of war. Cæsar rendezvoused his fleet and army at Brundisium, and Anthony came as far as Corcyra to meet him; but the summer being spent, both sides put their armies into winter-quarters, and laid up their fleets till the next spring.

§ 58. In Judea, Herod had provided an army for Antony's assistance: But when he was ready to march, letters came excusing him from this expedition; and desiring him to turn his arms against Malchus king of Arabia Petraea^m, (some translations of Josephus call him Aretas.) Cleopatra had extorted from Antony a part of the dominions of this prince bordering upon Egypt. While Antony was in power, the Arabian held these lands for a yearly tribute; but he being now engaged in a war, in which he expected him to perish, the Arabian refused to pay the tribute any longer. For which reason, at the instigation of Cleopatra, Antony ordered Herod to make war upon

¹ Plutarch in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 50. p. 481.

^m Joseph. h. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 6, 7, 8. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 14.

upon him, expecting that one of those kings would fall, and she should have his kingdom for a prey. Herod, on receipt of these orders, marched with his forces into Arabia, where, after a sharp fight, he obtained a signal victory: But in a second battle at Cana in Coelefyria, Athenion, who was Cleopatra's lieutenant in those parts, from hatred to Herod, joined the Arabian, and overthrew the Jews with a great slaughter, Herod himself hardly escaping. Not long after, another calamity happened by a terrible earthquake, which shaking the whole land of Judea, destroyed about thirty thousand of its inhabitants in the ruins of their houses. Whereupon Herod sent to the Arabians to crave peace^a; but they despising the message, put his ambassadors to death and invaded his country. Herod's forces being encamped in the field, had suffered nothing by the earthquake; and therefore he having got them together, encouraged them by a speech, at large recorded by Josephus^b, to engage, and in the first encounter he overthrew the enemy with the slaughter of five thousand of their men, and besieged the remainder in their camp; where, being sore distressed for want of water in a hot climate, they rashly ventured another battle, in which he slew seven thousand more, and forced the remainder to yield themselves prisoners. Whereupon the Arabians were obliged to submit to such terms as Herod thought fit to demand: And thus he returned with victory to Jerusalem.

§ 59. In the meantime Octavianus and Anto-

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^a Ant. C 31. Herod 7. ^b Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 8.

ny too the field: While Antony lay idle, Octavianus embarked at Brundisium, landed in Greece, and took the city Toryn before his adversary well understood that he had gone aboard his fleet^o. This action surprised the enemy, and made many go over to Octavianus; which rendered Antony so distrustful of the rest, that he was willing to push the matter to a speedy decision. Thus came on the battle of Actium, so called from a little city of that name on the south-side of the Ambracian gulph of Epirus^p, where the cause was decided. The fleets anchored within a mile's distance of each other, and the armies by land were within view, the one drawn up on the north-side, the other on the south-side of the streights entering the gulph, to wait the event of the battle. Canidius, who had the chief command in Antony's army, advised his master to march his army into Thrace or Macedon, and there to try his fortune by land. But Cleopatra's opinion prevailed, to venture all by sea, though Antony's fleet was not so well provided for action as when they came first into Greece, many of the mariners being dead; which forced him to cause burn some of his ships for want of seamen to navigate and row them, and the rest were heavy and ill-manned; whereas the fleet of Octavianus was light, clean, well-manned, and fit for action. Both engaged on the second of September^q. The fight for some time continued doubtful, till Cleopatra, being affrighted with the noise of the battle, which ladies use

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^o Plutarch. in Antonio. ^p Dion Cassius, lib. 50. p. 487. Plinius, lib. 4. cap. 1. ^q Dion Cassius, lib. 51 at the beginning, where the 4th of the nones is with us the ad of the month.

not to be acquainted with, failed off, and with her sixty tall Egyptian ships: Which Antony observing, was not his own man, proving, (as Plutarch^r says) "That the soul of a lover liveth in another body, not in his own;" for he failed after her, leaving the victory to Octavianus. However he came not easily by it; for Antony's ships fought so valiantly for him, even after he was fled, that though the fight began at noon, it was night before it ended. There were five thousand men killed, and three hundred ships taken. Next morning Octavianus finding his victory complete, sent a Squadron of his fleet after Anthony and Cleopatra: But finding them to be out of reach, they returned to the rest. Anthony and Cleopatra got to Tænarus on the point of Peloponnesus: Though he went aboard Cleopatra's ship, yet he did not speak to her nor to any body for three days, but sat in the posture of a melancholy man, confounded with anger and shame for his ill conduct. But when he was come to Tænarus, Cleopatra's women brought him and her to speak, sup, and lie together^r. There Anthony had an account that his army was still safe, and sent orders to Canidius to retire with it through Macedonia into Asia, purposing there to renew the war. Canidius for seven days continued his march as directed; but being then overtaken by Octavianus, he fled by night to Anthony. The army finding themselves abandoned by their generals, went over to Octavianus, and were listed by him among his Roman legions. Cæsar failed towards Athens, where

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^r In Antonie.

^r Plutarch. Ibid.

where he divided the corn left by Anthony's army to the Greeks, who were then in great straits. The foreign auxiliaries that helped Anthony in the war, retired to their respective countries^u, and afterwards made their peace with Cæsar as well as they could. He imposed on some of them, and also on the free cities that had joined with Anthony, heavy mulcts, whereby he discharged the expences of the war. As to the Romans who had been of Anthony's party, some of them he pardoned, some he fined, as he judged their conduct deserved. Cassius Parmensis, the last survivor of Julius Cæsar's murderers, being overtaken, was killed by those whom Octavianus sent to execute vengeance upon him^x.

From Tænarus Cleopatra sailed to Alexandria, and Anthony to Libya, where he had an army under Scarpus: But finding that this had also revolted to Octavianus^y, he sailed after Cleopatra to Alexandria; where he found her engaged in a very extraordinary undertaking: For fearing she might fall into the hands of Octavianus, she projected to draw her ships that were in the Mediterranean into the Red-sea^z, over the isthmus of seventy miles between them, and having joined them with other ships already in the Red-sea, to put on board some of her treasure, and seek some other place of habitation. But the Arabians having, at the instigation of Q. Didius, then president of Syria for Octavianus, burnt all those ships^a, this disappointed her of that design. Anthony,

^u Plutarch. in Antonio. ^v Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 507. ^x V. Maximus, lib. 1. cap. 7. ^y Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 511. ^z Plutarch. in Antonio. ^a Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 512.

upon his arrival at Alexandria, went not into the palace, but shut himself up in a house near the Pharos, secluding himself from the conversation of all men, after the example of Timon the Athenian, called *Misanthropos*, or man-hater^b. But he did not long relish this way of living; for he was soon found with Cleopatra, spending his time in luxury and folly, as formerly; only now they feasted as those who resolved to die together.

§ 60. Octavianus having settled the affairs of Greece and the Lesser Asia, repaired to Samos, and there took up his winter-quarters, but did not long continue in them, by reason that the army in Italy proving mutinous for want of pay, and rewards after their victories^c; and Agrippa finding it too hard to quell the commotion, acquainted Cæsar thereof; who, in a stormy winter, embarked for Rome. On his way he lost some ships that attended him, and escaped several dangers himself. However, being safe, he staid only twenty-seven days in Italy; where, by giving some money to the soldiers, and to others lands and fair promises, he quieted them at present. After the conquest of Egypt he gave them several other donatives^d. Having thus settled his affairs, he returned to Asia before Anthony and Cleopatra had any notice of his leaving it.

Upon Cæsar's coming to Rhodes, Herod, king of Judea, made his address to him^e. Herod did not leave off friendship to Anthony till his patron's affairs were become desperate; and even

^a Plutarch. in Antonio. ^b Ant. G. 30. Herod. 8. ^c Sueton. in Octav. ^d Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 321. ^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 9, 10. de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 13.

then he offered his best advice, which was, "To kill Cleopatra, seize her kingdom, and with her treasure to raise a new army to carry on the war;" in which case he promised to stand by him to the utmost. But finding this advice neglected, and Anthony fallen into the snares of Cleopatra as much as before, he thought it high time to take care of himself, and make his peace with Octavianus on the best terms he could. Old Hyrcanus being still alive, who had reigned in Judea under the protection of the Romans till he was deposed by the Parthians, Herod entertained a suspicion, that if any thing went hard with him, this old prince would be restored to the kingdom; of which Alexandra, his daughter, had signified some hopes. To prevent this, Herod trumped up a sham plot against Hyrcanus, as if he held a treasonable correspondence with Malchus, king of Arabia; and under this pretence caused him to be put to death, after he had past the eightieth year of his age. But still, to provide the best he could for the worst fate that might happen, Herod lodged Mariamne his wife, and Alexandra her mother, in the castle of Alexandrion, with a guard commanded by Joseph and Sohemus, and sent his mother and sister with the rest of his kindred to Masfada, the strongest fortress in Judea, committing them and the government to Pheroras his brother, ordering him; in case he should be ruined, to assume the crown to himself. Having thus settled matters at home, he set forward on his journey to meet Octavianus; and having obtained audience, he laid aside his diadem, and in his speech frankly declared, "That he had formerly entirely loved Anthony

Anthony as his friend, and had furnished him with wheat and money for the war, and would have assisted him in person at the battle of Actium, had he not been detained fighting against the Arabians; and that after Anthony was unfortunate; he had offered him his best advice, (as above related): But now, since Anthony was wholly lost, if Octavianus thought his friendship worthy of acceptance, he humbly offered with the same fidelity to serve him." Octavianus being pleased with Herod's frank way of owning the truth, and judging him a person capable to do him service, ordered him to resume his diadem. Whereupon Herod made large and magnificent gifts to him, and after this had more of Cæsar's favour and friendship than any tributary prince of the Roman empire. Therefore he returned to Jerusalem with great joy; but, on his arrival, his best beloved wife Mariamne was mightily embittered against him, by reason she looked on herself and her mother to have been shut up as prisoners in the castle of Alexandrion during her husband's absence, and had heard from Sohemus, that he had private orders to put them both to death in case Herod should miscarry, and to preserve the crown to Pheroras. Herod's mother, and Salome his sister, who had always been in ill terms with Mariamne, took this advantage to exasperate him against her, and at length prevailed with him to put her to death, as shall be afterwards told.

§ 61. Octavianus from Rhodes, marched thro' the Lesser Asia, to invade Egypt on that side, while

while Cornelius Gallus his lieutenant was to penetrate into it by the way of Libya and Cyrene. On Cæsar's arrival at Ptolemais, Herod waited on him, entertaining him and all his army with great magnificence, and furnishing him with necessaries till their arrival into Egypt, and over and above presented him with eight hundred talents. By which royal munificence, he was in high esteem with him and his followers. In the meantime, Antony three times sent ambassadors^a to Octavianus to sue for peace, offering to lead a private life in any place he should appoint, only desiring the kingdom to the children of Cleopatra: But no favourable answer could be obtained with respect to Antony himself. As to Cleopatra, Cæsar desiring to seize her treasure, and to have her person to adorn his triumph, sent her kind messages, that she might not in a desperate fit destroy both. She refused indeed to kill Antony, but she betrayed him in every thing else; particularly by yielding Pelusium to Octavianus without resistance; which was a key to Egypt on the east side, as Peritonium was on the west; which she also betrayed to Cornelius Gallus, Cæsar's lieutenant^b, where he had occasion to destroy Antony's fleet. Antony hearing of these losses, hastened to defend Alexandria, where he routed Octavianus's horse, and boasted much of the victory to Cleopatra: But in a second engagement, he was entirely vanquished by Cæsar's foot, and driven into the city with great loss. Next

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 10. de bello Jud. lib. 3. cap. 13. ^b Plutarch. in Anthony. Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 511, — 514. Florus, lib. 4. cap. 11. I Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 12.

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morning Antony's fleet surrendered to Caesar, and his whole army revolted. Antony perceiving all this to be effected by the treachery of Cleopatra, expressed his resentments with loud complaints. Whereupon she fled to a monument which she had caused to be built of great height and wonderful structure, near the temple of Isis. Thither she had removed the best of her treasure and jewels; and there she shut up herself, with two of her maids, and one of her eunuchs, causing it to be given out that she was dead; which Antony hearing, fell on his sword, and gave himself the wound of which he died. But living a few hours, and being told that Cleopatra was yet alive, he caused himself to be carried to her monument, where she and her maids hoisted him up, and there he died in her arms, in the 53d year of his age. Octavianus lamented his death, and allowed Cleopatra to order for him an honourable burial. He was a person of great generosity, eloquent, and a good soldier. The two great victories of Pharsalia and Philippi were in a good measure owing to his valour: But he was corrupted in his manners, and especially given to pleasures with the fair sex; which Cleopatra observing, to promote her avarice and ambition, yielded herself to debauches with him; yet when she could no longer serve her designs by him, was content, for saving her own interest, to give him up to ruin, but succeeded not according to her expectations. For though Octavianus visited her, and gave her fair promises, even after she was his prisoner, yet she well enough perceived that he had

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no regard for her, but only to preserve her alive to adorn his triumph; which above all things she abhorred: And hearing that in three days she was to be carried to Rome, to prevent this, she caused herself to be bitten with an asp, and so died, after she had lived thirty-nine years, and reigned twenty-two¹, from the death of her father, whereof fourteen with Mark Antony. She was a woman of great parts, as well as of great wickedness. She readily spoke several languages, being well skilled in Greek and Latin: She could converse with Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Jews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Persians and others in their own languages, without an interpreter. She excelled in the art of flattery, and exceeded in expences, feasting and prodigality. At one supper she gave Antony an entertainment to the value of 60,000 pound Sterling, by dissolving one of the pendants of her ears, a jewel of immense value, in strong vinegar; and drinking it off. Plancus secured the other pendant; which afterwards came into the hands of Caesar, who caused it to be cut asunder, and made into two pendants for the image of Venus, thinking that goddess well adorned with half of this prodigal queen's supper. In her death ended the reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, after it had continued from the death of Alexander the Great, 294 years². After this, Egypt was reduced into the form of a Roman province, and governed by a Praefect sent from Rome. Cornellius Gallus (the same to whom Virgil inscribed his tenth eclogue) by the appointment

¹ Canon Ptolomæi. Plutarch. in Antonio. Eusebius in Chronico, fol. m. 68. Ad Olymp. 187. ² Euseb. in Chronico, ibid.

ment of Augustus, was the first who enjoyed this prefecture; and under this form of government, Egypt continued six hundred and seventy years, till it was taken from the Roman empire by the Saracens in the year of our Lord 641. Octavianus having made himself master of Egypt, put an end to the civil wars of the Romans, and cut off such of the opposite party as might revive the same; among whom were Antyllus, Antony's eldest son by Fulvia^a; Cæsarion, son to Cleopatra by Julius Cæsar, who having claimed to be lawful heir to Julius Cæsar, could not be borne with by the adopted son; and Canidius Antony's general. As to the rest of Anthony's children, Cæsar shewed them all manner of favour. Antonius, the youngest brother of Antyllus by the same mother, was a great favourite, till being convicted of corrupting Julia, the only daughter of Augustus, he was put to death for it. Of Antony's two daughters by Octavia, descended Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, who were all three in process of time Roman emperors.

While Octavianus was in Egypt, he went to the sepulchre of Alexander the great, and saw his body^b, which being embalmed, was there preserved in a case of glass. It had formerly been kept in a case of gold; but that having been taken away^c by Seleucus Cybiosactes, it was put in a case of glass, in which Octavianus saw it, and paid great reverence to the remains of this great conqueror; but would not see the sepulchre of the Ptolemies,

^a Plutarch. in Antonio prope finem. Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 17. Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 519. ^b Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 18. Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 520. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 794. ^c See p. 231.

Ptolemies, nor the Egyptian Apis, saying, "He worshipped Gods, not beasts." Cæsar came to Egypt in the beginning of August; and having settled his affairs there, towards the end of that month he returned, by the way of Syria, the Lesser Asia, and Greece, towards Rome. From this conquest of Egypt began the Æra of the Actiac victory, by which the Egyptians computed their time to the first year of the emperor Diocletian, in the year of our Lord 284; which was by the Christians called the Æra of the Martyrs.

Herod, king of Judea, hearing of the death of Antony, and that Cæsar had made himself master of Egypt, hastened thither to him; and on Cæsar's leaving that country, accompanied him as far as Antioch. In this journey, he so far ingratiated himself with this great man, that he restored to him the territory of Jericho, with the balsam gardens that had been taken from him by Anthony, to gratify Cleopatra; and gave him also Gadara, Hippon and Samaria^a, in the inland country, with the towns of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa and Straton's tower on the sea-coast; which made a considerable enlargement to his kingdom^r.

Octavianus, on his arrival at Antioch, found there Tiridates waiting for him. He had been set up to be king of Parthia in opposition to Phraates^f; and there also he found ambassadors from Phraates on the like errand, even to solicit assistance the one against the other. He gave to each

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 17. ^r See Basnage's History of the Jews, p. m. 9, 10. of the extent of Herod's dominions. ^f Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. m. 522.

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each a friendly answer, without designing to help either, but rather to dash the one against the other, that thereby he might weaken both, so far as to make the Parthian nation no longer formidable to the Romans. With this view he gave leave to Tiridates to continue in Syria till he should be in a condition to expel Phraates out of Parthia, and accepted of him a son of Praates, whom he carried to Rome, there to be reserved as an hostage. After this Cæsar having appointed Messala Corvinus to be præfect of Syria, marched from Asia into the proper Syria, where he took up his winter-quarters.

In the beginning of the next year*, Cæsar entered his fifth consulship^u, and had therein many honours decreed to him at Rome. In the summer following, having settled all the affairs of the several provinces of the Lesser Asia, and the adjoining isles, he passed into Greece, and from thence returned to Italy; where he arrived in the month Sextilis, afterwards from him, called August, entering Rome with three triumphs^x; the first for his victories over the Dalmatians, Pannonians, and some other German and Gallic nations, whom he had overcome before his war with Anthony began; the second for his sea-victory at Actium; and the third for subduing Egypt, which was the most splendid of all the three: In it there were led before him the children of Cleopatra, and herself in effigy, with an asp hanging by

* Justin; lib. 42. cap. 5. * Ant. C. 29. Herod 9 ^u Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 522, 523. Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 26. ^x Livii Epitome, lib. 32. Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 22. Virgil Æneid 8. v. 714. At Cæsar, triplici inuestus Romana triumpho Mœnia —

by her arm, to signify the manner of her death. There being now a profound peace over the world, the temple of Janus was shut¹; after it had stood open 245 years. Such immense riches were brought to Rome from Egypt²; that the value of money fell one half, and the prices of provisions and of all vendible wares were doubled. The triumph being over, Octavianus had the title of Imperator or emperor conferred upon him³, not in the sense wherein the Romans formerly understood it: For thus it imported no more than a compliment given by the soldiers to their general, after a victory obtained; but it was given to him in the same sense in which all that afterwards governed the Roman empire were called emperors.^{id} *ibid.*

§ 62. If we look into what was doing in Judea in the meantime, we may observe, that though Herod on his return from his late visit which he made to Octavianus, had great satisfaction in his success, yet he found nothing but trouble and vexation in his own house⁴. Mariamne his wife entertained her resentments for the cruel commission her husband had given to Sohemus against her and her mother⁵, and carried them on so far as to treat with equal aversion him and all his relations, especially Cyprus his mother, and Salome his sister. Them she frequently upbraided with the meanness of their birth in respect of hers; and him she often reproached with the severe orders he gave to Joseph his uncle concerning herself⁶, without

¹ Dion Cassius, lib. 57. p. 324. Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 22. ² Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 322. Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 29. p. m. 533. ³ Dion Cassius, lib. 57. p. 324. ⁴ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 21. ⁵ See page 333. ⁶ See page 302.

without mentioning the last injunctions for the sake of Sohemus, from whom she had notice of the secret. Herod bore this humour for a whole year after his return from Rhodes; often his wrath made him ready to run into extremes, but this was checked by the love he had to her. One day he called for her into his bed-chamber: She obeyed so far as to go to him, but would receive none of his embraces or caresses, yea, upbraided him with the death of her relations. This provoked the tyrant to such a degree, that he had much ado to forbear laying violent hands upon her for such an indignity. Salome his sister understanding how the matter went, suborned the butler to accuse Mariamne of tempting him to administer unto the king a poisonous cup. This adding to the rage he was in against her, he immediately ordered her favourite servant, without whose privacy she did nothing, to be put on the rack; but all that he could extort from him was, that it was something which Sohemus had told Mariamne, that put her into so bad an humour. Upon this Herod fell into a violent rage of jealousy, crying out that Sohemus could never have been induced to tell this secret to her, but at the price of an adulterous conversation, and caused him immediately to be put to death. As to Mariamne, Herod having packed a bench of judges out of his creatures, brought her before them, to be tried for her life; who finding with what vehemence he prosecuted the accusation, passed upon the poor lady the sentence of death. Neither the prince nor the judges intended that the execution should be precipitated, only that she should be confined

to some of his castles. But his mother and his sister were so bitter against her, for several womanish quarrels, that they urged, that if she was kept alive, the people would rise in her behalf; and that there was no other way to keep all things quiet, but to cut her off. Herod being terrified by these suggestions, ordered her execution. As she was led to it, her mother Alexandra fell on her with bitter railings, accusing her of being ungrateful towards an affectionate husband, and seemed so offended with her as she was like to fly in her face. She acted this hypocritical part, fearing her own turn might come next: But her daughter passed on without answering a word, going to her execution with an intrepid mind, without changing her colour, dying as she had lived, great, firm and fearless to the last. Thus ended the life of this virtuous princess. In the beauty and charms of her person, she excelled all the women of her time, and would have been an incomparable lady, could she have carried with some better temper towards her husband. But considering that he had built his fortunes upon the ruins of the whole family from which she was descended, the noble race of the Asmonæans; that he had usurped from them the crown that he wore, and had caused or procured her father Alexander, her grandfather Hyrcanus, her brother Aristobulus, the high-priest, and her uncle Antigonus, to be all put to death, as hath been already mentioned in this history, and had twice ordered her death in case himself had been ruined, it would have tried the patience of the best tempered woman in the world, to bear such an husband

band with any affection or complaisance. As soon as Herod's wrath was allayed, instead of joy, agonies of sorrow and remorse for what he had done filled his mind, and would not suffer him to rest day nor night, the thoughts of Mariamne still pursuing him*. These he endeavoured to stifle by wine, company, feasts and diversions; but no such means effecting his relief, he fell into fits of distraction, and would often order his servants to bring Mariamne to him, as if she whom he with incredible cruelty had cut off, had been still alive.

Soon after this, there happened a grievous pestilence in Judea*, by which great numbers of people of all sorts were destroyed; which was reckoned as a judgment of God for the death of the queen. This added to Herod's disorder; so that not knowing what to do, he retired to Samaria, where he fell into dangerous sickness. Having got rid of it, with great difficulty he returned to Jerusalem to take care of his kingdom, but never recovered his former temper, acting still with greater rigour and cruelty to the end of life. While he lay sick at Samaria, Alexandra, whose active head could never be at rest, thinking he would die, laid plots for seizing the government; and in order thereto, treated with the governors of the two castles at Jerusalem, namely, that of Antonia on the mountain of the temple, and the other in the city, to have them delivered into her hands, on pretence to secure them for Herod's sons by Mariamne. But the

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governors

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 11. * Ant. C. 20. Herod. 10.

† Joseph. Ibid.

governors of these castles liking neither Alexandra nor her designs, sent an account to Herod; who immediately gave orders to put her to death. Thus was her hypocrisy at her daughter's execution rewarded.

§ 63. Octavianus having filled the senate at Rome with his own creatures, whose fortunes entirely depended upon him, after several consultations with Agrippa and Mæcenas^a, made an offer to resign the government into the hands of the people^{*}: But the whole senate entreated he would be pleased to take upon himself the whole conduct of the empire, which he with a seeming reluctance agreed to for ten years^b. He would not accept of it for a longer term, pretending that in this space, all things would be settled in peace, and then he would ease himself of the burden; still knowing that when this term should end, he could renew the lease from one ten years to another, which he actually did as long as he lived. Here ended the republican government of the Roman state, and the whole power of senate and people was vested in Octavianus, and remained with him and his successors as long as the Roman empire continued. The name of Augustus, signifying, sacred or venerable, was given to him; and from this time he was called C. Julius Cæsar Augustus^c; which title we shall afterwards give him. That he might allow the senate a shadow of power with himself, he divided the empire in-

^a Vid Dion. Cassium lib 53 per totum.

^{*} Ant C 27. Herod 11.

^b Dion Cassius, lib 53, p. 569.—577. ^c Livii Epitome, lib. 134. Florus, lib. 4 & ultimo in fine. Suetonius in Octavio, cap. 2. Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 26.

to two parts, granting the senate to govern the provinces that were quiet and peaceable next Rome, and the other provinces which lay upon the skirts of the empire, and were most exposed to the incursions and wars of the barbarous nations, he took under his own conduct or that of his lieutenants^k. These were called the Imperial Provinces, comprehending Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Cyprus, Egypt, besides others on the borders of the empire. By this management he secured all the armies and military power in his own interest; and thus he was sure to prevent all disturbances.

§ 64. In Judea^{*}, Salome falling out with Costobarus, the Idumæan, her second husband, sent him a bill of divorce, contrary to the law and usage of the Jews^l, for according thereto, the husband might divorce the wife, but not the wife the husband; but Salome, by Herod's authority, made that go for law which best pleased her. To make herself more acceptable to her brother, she pretended to have discovered Costobarus to be conspiring against the king^m, with Lyfimachus, Antipater and Dositheus, all men of note in the country; and that for this reason she abandoned him. To gain the better credit to her accusation, she discovered where Costobarus had concealed the children of Babas, sticklers for the Asmonæan race, whom he was appointed to cut off. Herod sent to the place which she named; and finding all to be true which she told as to this point, believed her as to the rest, and therefore immediately ordered not only them, but also Costobarus, Lyfimachus,

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^k Dion Cassius, lib. 53. p. 576. 577.

^{*} Ant. C. 26. Herod. 13.

^l Deut. xxiv. 1, 2. Matth. v. 31. ^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11.

machus, Dositheus, and several others, accused as their accomplices, to be put to death.

Cornelius Gallus being recalled from Egyptⁿ, Petronius was made prefect in his place. Gallus, on his return to Rome, having spoke too liberally against Augustus, was noted with infamy, being forbid his house and the provinces under his command. Other accusations coming against him, of concussions, rapines, extortions, and other misdemeanours committed by him while governor of Egypt, he was by vote of the senate condemned to banishment; but he prevented the execution of the sentence, by falling on his own sword, and killing himself^o. He was an eminent poet, and a great friend to Virgil, as appears by his tenth Eclogue inscribed to him.

§ 65. Herod having cut off all the Asmonæan party, thought himself now secure against dangers, and therefore ventured in many things to depart from the Jewish customs, by bringing in^p rites of foreign heathenish superstition: For he built at Jerusalem a theatre and an amphitheatre, and in honour of Augustus celebrated games much disliked by the generality of the Jews, as inconsistent with the religion of their country; particularly they were displeased with some trophies he set round his theatre, adorned with Caesar's titles, with vestments and precious stones, which they took for images; and that he encouraged and rewarded wrestlers, musicians, chariot-races, fighting with lions and other savage beasts, as used among the Romans. These things gave so great offence,

ⁿ Strab. lib. 17. p. 819.
in Octavio, cap. 66.

^o Dion Cassius, lib. 53. p. 587. Suetonius
^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11.

offence, that ten persons entered into a conspiracy for cutting him off by an assassination. One of the conspirators was blind⁹; yet did much excite and encourage the rest¹⁰. They provided themselves with daggers under their garments, and went to the theatre when Herod was to come, designing there to slay him. But one of his spies (of which sort he had a great many) having got some notice of the matter, made discovery of the same to him, as he was going to the theatre; whereupon the conspirators being seized, they boldly owned the design, saying, "No man would suffer his religion to be violated though it should cost him his life:" And were all put to death by exquisite torments. The intelligencer having incurred the general odium of the people, some of them meeting with him in a private place, tore him in pieces. Herod never left off inquiry after those who had done this, till he got it wrought out of a poor woman who had been witness to the fact, who upon torments confessed; and then all the actors, with their whole families, were punished by death. To secure himself against all such tumults for the future, he built many strong cities in the land, beginning with Samaria. It had been ruined in the time of John Hyrcanus¹¹. Herod restored it to its former splendour, and in honour of Augustus, called it Sebaste; for Σεβαστε in Greek is the same with Augustus in Latin. This place he planted with six thousand new inhabitants invited thither from all parts, and divided among them the country round about it, which being a fertile

⁹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11. ¹⁰ Ant. C. 25. Herod 13. ¹¹ See page 27.

fertile soil, when well cultivated, made the city rich and populous, affording plenty to all its inhabitants. He also put a garrison into Straton's tower^c, which in honour of the same Caesar Augustus was afterwards called *Cæsarea*; and he did the same in *Gabala*, where he kept his horsemen. He built also the fort *Effthimonites* in *Peræa*, and some others for keeping the country quiet. This year, being the thirteenth of the reign of Herod, great calamities, through God's displeasure^d, fell upon *Judea*, a long drought produced a famine, and that famine a pestilence, which swept away great numbers of the people. Herod being deprived of the ordinary revenues from the fruits of the earth, and his treasury being exhausted by building new cities, did melt down the gold and silver plate in his palace, and coining it into money, sent it into *Egypt*; from whence *Petronius*, the prefect, sent him abundance of corn to provide his own people, and also some of their neighbours in *Syria*: And whereas most of the sheep were consumed, he took care that such quantities of wool were imported from foreign countries, that every one might be provided with clothes against the cold season. These acts of generosity did in some measure gain him the affection of the people; but what he gained by such means, he lost by his tyranny, which continued with him as long as he lived.

§ 66. The Roman power protected Herod, and the name of Augustus at that time grew famous all the world over. The remotest nations of the north

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15 cap. 12, 13.

^d Ibid. cap. 12.

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north and east, that is, the Scythians, Sarmatians, the Indians and Seres¹, sent ambassadors humbly to desire his friendship, and to offer presents of jewels, precious stones and elephants. Florus² tells us, that the Seres were four years on their journey, which is to be supposed coming and going. They were the remotest people of the east, the same whom we now call Chinese, and had their name from making of silk, and silken manufactures.

Augustus with the beginning of this year³ entering into his tenth consulate⁴, had a decree of the senate made in his favours, which freed him from the obligation of all laws, setting him above all these, with an absolute power to do all things in the government of the empire according to his good pleasure: And many other things were decreed in honour of him, through the flattery of some who courted his favour, and the fear of others who dreaded his power.

§ 67. Herod being now at peace and in prosperity, set himself to the building of a stately palace on mount Zion⁵, making it a structure of that magnificence, that in some measure it exceeded the temple itself, and was especially famous for two large apartments, the one of which was called Cæsareum, in honour of Augustus, and the other Agrippæum, for Agrippa his favourite. The same year Herod furnished Augustus with five hundred men out of his guards, for carrying on an expedi-

¹ Florus, lib. 4 cap. 12. *prope finem*. Suetonius in Octavio, cap. 21. Q. *rosius*, lib. 6. cap. 21. ² Lib. 4 cap. 12 *prope finem*. ³ Ant. C. 24. Herod 12. ⁴ Dion Cassius, lib. 53. p. 591. ⁵ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 12.

tion against the southern Arabs. He having heard that they abounded in gold, silver, and other riches, resolved either by treaty to make them his friends, or by conquest to make them his subjects. *Ælius Largus*, a Roman of the Equestrian order, was sent to command in this expedition²; for which *Augustus* furnished ten thousand men, *Herod* five hundred, and one thousand were sent by *Syllæus* from *Obados*, king of the Nabathæan Arabs. *Syllæus* informing *Largus* falsely, that there was no safe passage thither by land, this put him on building a fleet, and having provided one hundred and thirty transports at *Cleopatris*, at the bottom of the Red-sea, he put his army on board, and sailed to *Leucocome*, a port of the Nabathæans. The navigation being dangerous, by reason of rocks and shelves, and *Syllæus* guiding him the worst way, he lost many of his ships; and on his landing, his army falling sick under a warm climate, he was forced to lie there the remainder of this summer, and the winter following, to wait their recovery. Next spring³ he set out from *Leucocome*, and after a march of six months southward, came into those parts he intended, defeating in his march all who opposed him: But through the difficulties of the way, the heat of the country, and unwholesomeness of the air, water and herbs, he had by this time lost the better half of his army; and therefore was forced to return without effecting what he designed. The treachery of *Syllæus* being discovered, *Largus*, by the conduct of more faithful guides, returned to the same ports from

² *Plin.* lib. 6. cap. 38. *Strabo*, lib. 16, 17. *Dion Cassius*, lib. 53. p. 591, 592. ³ *Ant. C.* 23. *Herod* 15.

from which he had been six months in marching out; and embarking at Negra, landed in eleven days at Myos Hormus in Egypt; from whence he marched to Alexandria, having spent two years in this expedition. The miscarrying thereof was owing to the treachery of Syllaus; for which, among other crimes^a, he was executed at Rome some years after this by the rods and ax of the lictor.

§ 68. While Largus was on this expedition, Candace, queen of Ethiopia, invading the province of Thebais in Upper Egypt with a great army, took Syena and other places on the borders, and carried the garrison soldiers into captivity^b: Whereupon Petronius, then governor of Egypt, marched against her, and having vanquished her forces in battle, and driven them out of the country, pursued them into Æthiopia; and having pierced above eight hundred miles into that kingdom, took Napata, or, according to Cassius, Tanape, the metropolis, which he destroyed and some other cities, till not being able to proceed further, by reason of great deserts of sand, and the heat of the climate, he returned with many captives, a thousand of the principal of them he sent to Augustus, and sold the rest at Alexandria.

Phraates, king of Parthia, being again driven out of his kingdom by Tiridates, prevailed with the Scythians to bring him back with a great army. Whereupon Tiridates, with the chiefs of his party, fled to Augustus to pray for his assistance^c, promising to hold the kingdom in homage of him, in case he should be restored by his help. Phraates hearing

^a Strabo, lib. 16. p. 792. ^b Dion Cassius, lib. 54 p. 599 600. Strabo lib. 17. p. 820. ^c Dion Cassius, lib. 53 p. 594 Justin, lib. 41, p. 5.

hearing what way his adversary was gone, sent ambassadors to Rome after him, demanding of Augustus to deliver up his rebel subjects, and to release his son, whom Tiridates had put into his hands, as before ^d observed. Augustus answered, as he had done before at Antioch, That he would not deliver Tiridates into the hands of Phraates, nor assist either of them against the other: But to gratify both a little, he allowed Tiridates to live at Rome, with a maintenance out of the treasury to support him in plenty and honour; and he sent back to Phraates his son, on condition that he should restore all the Roman captives and ensigns, which the Parthians had taken either from Crassus or Anthony in their wars. This was then promised, but not done till three years after this, when Augustus came into Syria, and by the threats of a new war induced them to perform it.

§ 69. At this time, there being in Jerusalem a very beautiful young lady called Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the son of Boethus, an ordinary priest of that place^e, Herod fell in love her; and to make her a more suitable match for him, he deposed Jesus the son of Phobes, and made Simon her father, high-priest in his room. After this he built a stately palace, about seven miles from Jerusalem, on the ground where he had formerly defeated the Parthians and Jews of the Asmonæan party. This, from his own name, was called Herodium. It stood on a very pleasant and strong situation, on the top of a hill, from whence there was a prospect of all the country round,

^d See p. 339. ^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 12. & lib. 16. cap. 7.

round, and at the foot thereof, was such a number of houses, as made a little city.

Augustus having been seized this year with a dangerous sickness, when other means failed of success, was cured by the use of the cold bath, and cooling potions, prescribed by Antonius Musa^f; for which this physician was advanced to honours, and well rewarded. A little after, Marcellus falling sick, while Musa endeavoured to recover him by the same method, he died, to the great grief of Augustus. For he was the son of Octavia his sister by her first husband; and being a young man of great hopes, he had married his daughter Julia to him, and in his sickness adopted him for his son and heir, and all this encreased his sorrow. This is the Marcellus whose death Virgil laments in charming verse^g; so as Octavia his mother, when hearing them repeated before Augustus, fainted away, and ordered 10,000 Sesterces to be given to the poet for each line on that subject.

Herod having finished Samaria, which he called Sebaste^h, surrounded it with a strong wall, supported by the natural steepness of the place; and in the midst of the city there was a sacred place, containing a furlong and a half in bounds, where was a temple builtⁱ, famous both for beauty and bigness. He began the building of another city at Straton's tower, on the sea-coast of Palestine, which in honour of Augustus he called Cæsarea.

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^f Dion Cassius, lib. 53. p. 592. Suetonius in Octavio, cap. 59. Plinius, lib. 29. cap. 1. ^g Vide Virgil. *Æneid* 6. 860,—884. Tu Marcellus eris
manibus date lilla plenis, &c. & Ruzi notas in locum. ^h See p. 307.

Ant. C. 22. Herod 26. ⁱ Joseph. *Antiq* lib. 15. cap. 11.

In building and adorning of it, he spent twelve years^k, and expended vast sums of money; whereby he made it a city of prime note, and the best port in all the coasts of Phœnicia; whereas before it was a very dangerous harbour, so as no ship could ride safe there, when the wind blew south-west. To remedy this, he ran out a mole in a circular form, which fenced the port both against the south and the west, and encompassed room enough for a great fleet to ride safe within against all wind and weather, leaving a passage into it only by the north, where the sea was less rough. This work was built with stones brought from far, and of a very large size, being fifty feet long, eighteen broad, and nine deep, some greater, some lesser; and the foundation was laid twenty fathom deep into the sea. The whole was fortified with divers towers; one whereof was called Drusus, in memory of Drusus, Caesar's son-in-law, who died young. In the midst of the city there was a theatre, and behind it an amphitheatre, both of stone, pleasantly situated. When Judea was reduced into the form of a province, this city was usually made the residence of the Roman governor. Alexander and Aristobulus, sons of Herod by Mariamne (who had been executed) being now grown up, their father sent them to Rome for their education^l, providing a reception for them in the house of Pollio: But Augustus assigned them apartments in his own palace, and gave full power to Herod to leave the possession of his kingdom to which of his sons he should think

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13. & de Bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 16. ^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11. & de bello jud. cap. 15. lib. 11.

think fit; and at the same time added Trachonitis, Auranitis, or Ituræa, and Batanæa, districts that lay beyond Jordan and the sea of Galilee, to Herod's former dominions, which was done on this occasion. There was one Zenodorus, tetrarch of that territory, who not being content with the honest gain of his farm, went sharer with a company of thieves in the mountains of Trachonitis, permitting them to rob the country round about, to encrease his profit. This being complained of, Augustus put all these provinces which Zenodorus had farmed, into the hands of Herod; who marching thither with his forces, broke into the dens of those thieves, and by killing a great number of them, and driving out the rest, soon cleared the country of them all. Zenodorus went to Rome to make complaints against Herod. But no ear being given to his accusations, he excited the Gadarenes to complain of him to Agrippa, who then had the government of the eastern provinces beyond the Ægean sea, to which Augustus had sent him, to prevent some mistakes that were like to arise between Agrippa and Marcellus, Cæsar's son-in-law. Herod hearing that Agrippa had taken up his residence at Mitylene, in the isle of Lesbos, sailed thither, to cultivate the friendship that had been before between them. After him came the Gadarenes with their complaints; but Agrippa was so far from hearing them, that he sent them in chains to Judea. Herod, to sweeten them, soon dismissed them, which quieted the troubles which they and Zenodorus would have raised against him.

§ 70. Augustus^a intending a progress into the east, on his arrival in Sicily, in his way thither, sent for Agrippa; and having given him in marriage Julia his daughter, now become a widow by the death of Marcellus her former husband^b, sent him to Rome there to take care of affairs in the west, while he himself should be absent in the east. While Augustus tarried in Sicily, there came ambassadors from Candace queen of Ethiopia, to sue for peace^c, who finding him at Samos, obtained the peace they desired, and returned to Ethiopia^d. Next spring^e, Augustus passed from Samos into the Lesser Asia, and having settled all matters there, continued his progress till he came to Antioch, where Zenodorus, with delegates from the Gadarenes, addressed him with their old complaints against Herod, for tyranny, violence, and rapine. Augustus appointed Herod a day to make his defence^f against these accusations; but at the same time treated him with so much favour, that the Gadarenes despairing of their cause, some of them broke their necks, others drowned themselves in the river, to prevent their being delivered to Herod; and Zenodorus did the like: For having taken poison, it threw him into a violent flux of blood, of which he died. Augustus looking on these men as self-condemned, absolved Herod, and gave him the tetrarchy of Zenodorus, joined him in commission with the president of Syria, ordering that nothing should be done in the province without his knowledge and advice.

^a Ant. C. 51. Herod 17.

eules, lib. 2. cap. 93.

^f Ant. C. 50. Herod. 18.

fius, lib. 54. p. 602.

^b Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 600. Vell. Pater-

^c See p. 351.

^d Strabo, lib. 17. p. 817.

^e P. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13. Dion Cas-

And moreover, at his desire, gave to Pheroras his brother, a tetrarchy in those parts. In acknowledgment of these favours, Herod erected in the territories which had belonged to Zenodorus, at a pleasant place near the mountain Paneas, from the foot of which springs the river Jordan, a sumptuous temple to Augustus, all of white marble. By which idolatrous flattery, and the like compliances with the heathens, he further alienated from him all those Jews who were zealous for the law of Moses.

Phraates king of Parthia, on Augustus's coming into Syria, sent ambassadors to him to pray his friendship: For being then in ill terms with his people, whom he had alienated from him by his tyranny and cruelty, he dreaded a foreign war; and he had reason at that time to fear it from Augustus: For whereas he had three years before released him one of his sons, on promise that he should send back all the prisoners and ensigns which the Parthians had taken from the Romans in their wars with Crassus and Anthony, this was never yet performed: And therefore, that this might occasion no new war, the Parthian not only sent back all those captives and ensigns, but also yielded to all other terms of peace then required of him, and gave four of his sons, with their wives and children, in hostage for the performance. Thus, as Justin¹ remarks, Augustus did more by the greatness of his name, than any other commander could do by war: And Ovid

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¹ See p. 334. ² Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 861, 862. Livell epitome, lib. 39. Florus, lib. 4. cap. 12. ³ V. Patere, lib. 4. cap. 61. ⁴ Justin, lib. 4. cap. 3. to find.

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And

* Ant. C. 31. Herod 17.
eulus, lib. 2. cap. 93.

† Ant. C. 20. Herod. 19.
sius, lib. 54. p. 602.

^m Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 600. Vell. Pater-
culus, lib. 2. cap. 93.

ⁿ See p. 351.

^o Strabo, lib. 17. p. 817.

^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 13. Dion Cas-

And moreover, at his desire, gave to Pheroras his brother, a tetrarchy in those parts. In acknowledgment of these favours, Herod erected in the territories which had belonged to Zenodorus, at a pleasant place near the mountain Paneas, from the foot of which springs the river Jordan, a sumptuous temple to Augustus, all of white marble. By which idolatrous flattery, and the like compliances with the heathens, he further alienated from him all those Jews who were zealous for the law of Moses.

Phraates king of Parthia, on Augustus's coming into Syria, sent ambassadors to him to pray his friendship: For being then in ill terms with his people, whom he had alienated from him by his tyranny and cruelty, he dreaded a foreign war; and he had reason at that time to fear it from Augustus: For whereas he had three years before released him one of his sons, on promise that he should send back all the prisoners and ensigns which the Parthians had taken from the Romans in their wars with Crassus and Anthony, this was never yet performed: And therefore, that this might occasion no new war, the Parthian not only sent back all those captives and ensigns, but also yielded to all other terms of peace then required of him, and gave four of his sons, with their wives and children, in hostage for the performance. Thus, as Justin remarks, Augustus did more by the greatness of his name, than any other commander could do by war: And Ovid

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sings

See p. 334. * Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 867, 802. Livl epitomæ, lib. 89. Florus, lib. 4. cap. 12. V. Patere. lib. 3. cap. 91. Justin, lib. 42. cap. 3. in fine.

sings of it, as in his words at the foot of the page. At the same time Augustus settled affairs in Armenia.

Towards the end of summer, Augustus returning out of Syria, Herod attended him to his ship. From Syria he sailed to Samos, and there resided all the ensuing winter; and in consideration of the accommodations the Samians afforded him, he gave them their liberty, and made their city free*. Herod, on his return to Jerusalem, finding the people much offended, because of the many breaches he had made upon their religion, by his frequent compliances with the idolatrous customs of the Greeks and Romans, excused himself by the necessity he was under to please Augustus: But this not giving satisfaction, he prohibited the meetings of the Jews in clubs or other assemblies, and had spies upon them, who gave him intelligence how all went. Thus, by frequently punishing the guilty*, he made a shift to secure himself. He designed to have imposed an oath of fidelity on all his subjects; but Hillel and Shammai, with the Pharisees and Essenes, refusing to take it, he was forced to let it drop; only those who had rendered themselves suspected, were forced to comply with it for avoiding his severity.

While Augustus* lay at Samos, there came thither to him a second embassy from the king of India, to desire the establishment of a league of friendship with him*. To which purpose he wrote a letter

* Tristium lib. 2. Nunc petit Armenius pacem, nunc porrigit arcus. Parthus eques, timida captique signa manu. ^u Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 603.

^z Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13. [•] Ant. C. 19. Herod. 19. [†] See. p. 349. ^z Strabo, lib. 15. p. 719, 720. [•] Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 603.

a letter to him in Greek, telling, "That though he reigned over six hundred kings, yet he had such a value for Augustus, by the great fame he had heard of him, that he sent this embassy a long journey to ask his friendship." Signed by Porus king of India. The six hundred kings of whom he boasts, seem to be Rajahs or petty princes, who governed as the king's ministers, of which number there are many in the Indies to this very day. Zamarus, a gymnosophist, was one of those ambassadors, who, following Augustus to Athens, burnt himself in his presence, as Calanus, another of that sect, had done formerly in the presence of Alexander the Great. Among the presents they brought, there were some tygers, which were the first of that sort of beasts that had been seen in Europe. Augustus returning to Rome, was there received with great honour, his bringing back the ensigns and prisoners taken in the Parthian wars, being esteemed above a victory. The emperor valued himself so much upon this score, that many of his coins still remaining, bear the inscription *Signis receptis*.

§ 71. Herod having finished his buildings at Sebaste, and far advanced those at Casarea, formed a design of new building the temple at Jerusalem; whereby he hoped he should not only reconcile to him the affections of the Jews, but also erect a lasting monument to his own name. The temple built after the return from the Babylonish captivity was far short of Solomon's in many particulars; and being erected 500 years before this

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time,

time, several decays had happened in it. For the temple being the strongest part of the city, whenever the inhabitants were pressed by war, they made their last refuge thither; and when they did so, some of the buildings suffered by it. To amend all these defects, Herod offered to the Jews to rebuild the whole temple: But finding them startled at the proposal, he told them he would not take down the old, till he had all materials ready to erect a new one in its place; and accordingly he employed a thousand waggons for carrying stones and timber, ten thousand artificers to fit all things for the building, and a thousand priests skilful in architecture, to supervise and direct the work. By these means, all things in two years time were got ready, and then, and not till then, did he pull down the old temple, and lay the foundations of the new one. The proposal was made in the eighteenth year of Herod's reign, according to Josephus^b, and the work begun in the nineteenth year thereof.

Ælius Gallus succeeding Petronius in the prefecture of Egypt^c, made a progress into the upper parts of that country, as far as Syene and the borders of Ethiopia, in which Strabo the geographer accompanied him. But we have spoken of this author near the beginning of this chapter^d, and now go on with the affairs of the Romans and Jews.

Herod having now prepared materials † for new building the temple, pulled down the old edifice, and began the erecting of a new one, just forty-
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^b Joseph Antiq lib. 15. cap. 14. ^c Strabo, lib. 17. p. 806. ^d Ant. C. 18. Herod 20. ^e See p. 63. † Ant. C. 17. Herod 21.

six years before the first passover at Christ's public ministry. At which time the Jews told him, *Forty and six years hath this temple been in building*, St. John ii. 20. So that text may be rendered: For though in nine years this building was fit for divine service, yet forty-six years had at that time passed since it was begun, and there were still many labourers and artificers employed for carrying on the out buildings, all the time our Saviour was here on earth, and for some years after, till on the coming of Gessius Florus to be governor of Judea, there were eighteen thousand of them discharged at once; who, for want of work^a, began those mutinies which at last drew on the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple. If this be duly considered, the objection of the Jews^c against this text, John ii. 20. will entirely vanish.

This year, Julia the daughter of Augustus, brought Agrippa a second son^b, called Lucius. The eldest, called Caius, was born three years before. Augustus adopted them both for his sons, and declared them heirs of the empire; for this he thought would conduce to settle his affairs.

§ 71. Herod sailed into Italy, there to pay his respects to Augustus, and to see his sons Alexander and Aristobulus, who were there educated^d. In his way he stopt at Greece, and was present at the games exhibited upon occasion of the 191st Olympiad, in which he presided^e; and to restore these shews to their former solemnity, the pover-

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ty

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8. ^b See Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah, part 2. p. 121, — 126. ^c Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 610. ^d Ant. C. 36. Herod 22. ^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 1. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 16.

ty of the Elians not being able to support them, he settled a constant revenue upon them. On his coming to Rome, he was received with great honour and kindness by Augustus; from whom he received his sons, instructed in all Roman exercises and literature, and returned with them into Judea. The eldest of them he married to Glaphyra, daughter to Archelaus king of Cappadocia¹, and the second to Berenice, daughter to Salome his sister. The young men, by reason of their excellent qualifications, were esteemed of all the Jews; but Salome, and others who had contrived the death of Mariamne their mother, fearing their revenge, did work their destruction, as shall be afterwards observed. Mean time the work of the temple went on, and in an year and a half, the holy place, the holy of holies, and the porch were wholly finished², and after eight years more, all the rest was built which Herod proposed. The structure was very magnificent, being "an hundred cubits in length, and an hundred and twenty in height, the foundations sinking a part of the last twenty cubits." The Jews afterwards, in Nero's reign, designed to have raised it to its former height, but got it not done. It was built of large white marble, each stone being twenty-five cubits long, eight cubits high, and about twelve in breadth. The porches and gates were very rich and stately.

Next year * Augustus having sent Agrippa into the east, as soon as Herod heard of his arrival in the province of the Proper Asia, he went thither to

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 2. ² Ibid. lib. 15. cap. 14. * Ant. C. 15. Herod 23.

to him¹, and prevailed with him to come into Judea, where he entertained him and all his attendants with all magnificence, having shewn them all his new built cities and castles; as, Sebaste, Cæsarea, Alexandria, Herodium, Hyrcania, and Jerusalem. At the last of these, he was met by the people in their festival apparel in a solemn procession. After some stay, he gave one hundred oxen for sacrifices at the temple, feasted all the people, and then took shipping for Ionia, both he and his friends being honoured with very great presents.

§ 73. Asander, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, being dead †, left the kingdom to Dynamis his wife, in whose right he had possessed it, she being the daughter of Pharnaces the son of Mithridates^m. One Scribonius, pretending to be a grandson of Mithridates, took Dynamis to wife, and seized the country. Whereupon, Agrippa sent Polemon (whom the Romans had made king of Pontus and of the Lesser Armenia) to make war upon him. But before Polemon's arrival, the Bosphorans had discovered Scribonius to be a cheat, and put him to death; yet would not submit to Polemon: Which brought Agrippa upon them with all his army, and a dangerous war ensued. Herod hearing of this, hastened to help Agrippa with a fleet and army, whereby he exceedingly gained his favour: For coming to him at Sinope in Pontus when he was in some distress; nothing could be more acceptable than the supply he brought himⁿ; for with this assistance, Agrippa soon reduced the Bosphorans to a thorough submission.

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 2. ⁿ Ant. C. 14. Herod. 24. ^m Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 616. ^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 3.

submission. Whereupon Dynamis being given to Polemon to wife, he had with her the kingdom of Bosphorus conferred on him, and by the favour of Augustus, who confirmed the grant, held it with Pontus and the Lesser Armenia, which he had before. After matters were thus settled in Bosphorus, Agrippa returned through Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Phrygia, unto Ephesus. Herod accompanying him all this way, procured many favours of him for the people of those parts, who prayed his mediation. At Ionia he had an opportunity to solicit favour for the Jews. Antiochus the Great had long time before this, planted two thousand Babylonish Jews in Phrygia, Lydia, and other provinces adjoining^o. These being increased to a greater number, and spread over all the Lesser Asia and the isles, they were maligned and oppressed by the Heathens among whom they dwelt, who would not permit them to live according to the law of Moses, nor to send their sacred money to Jerusalem, nor to enjoy the privileges granted them, first by the kings of Syria, and afterwards by the Romans. Herod on their application undertook their cause, and employed one Nicolaus to speak in their favour, whose oration is at large to be read in Josephus^p. Agrippa found their request reasonable, and for his friend Herod's sake, granted their demands, confirming them in the enjoyment of all the privileges they had at any time possessed. After this, Agrippa passed to Samos, and Herod returned to Judea^q. On his arrival at Jerusalem, he related to the Jews the

^o See vol. 3. p. 369. ^p Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 4. ^q Ibid. cap. 52.

the success of his journey, and what he had obtained for their countrymen in the Lesser Asia; and then remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes, which was accepted with great thankfulness.

§ 74. Lepidus being dead *, who had borne the office of Pontifex Maximus or high-priest at Rome, Augustus took that office to himself †, as did all his successors in the empire, as well Christians as Heathens, till Gratian, who succeeded Valentinian in the year of our Lord 375. He being a zealous Christian, thought it inconsistent with his religion to bear so much as the title of high-priest in the heathen rites. He first refused it ‡, and others who succeeded him in the Roman empire did the same, though that title is sometimes given to them in ancient inscriptions. As soon as Augustus entered on the office of Pontifex Maximus, he set himself to the reforming of many things, which were thereby put under his care. He reduced the year to the reformation made by his uncle Julius Caesar, which had for some time been neglected. He called in a great many prophetic or fatidic books, which served only to raise vain hopes and fears among the people, and of these he burnt two thousand volumes §, reserving only the books said to be writ by the Sybils; and after having examined them, he rejected those that were counted spurious, and as for those that were counted genuine, he put them into two golden cabinets, and laid them up in the temple of Apollo, under the pedestal

* Ant. C. 13. Herod. 25. † Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 31. Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 659. ‡ Zosimus, lib. 4, c. 61. See Hist. Propagat. Christianity, chap. 2, and 4. § Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 31.

deftal of the image. Thefe prophecies were all destroyed in the year of our Lord 399. Whether the eight books called Sibylline, ftill extant in print, be all fpurious, or only interpolated, I fhall not determine; only we ftand in no need of them to confirm our holy religion, which is attested by a more *sure word of prophecy*. Thefe who defire a more full account of the Sibylline books, may confult the authors at the foot of the page ^u.

§ 75. Alexander and Aristobulus, fons to Herod by Mariamne, who had been executed, having on their return from Rome lived three years at home with their father, at length fell grievoufly under his difpleafure. In the heat of their youth they had let fall many rash words, expreffing their resentments for the death of their mother, with threats of revenge upon the authors thereof. At which Salome and Pheroras, the chief advisers of her execution, being alarmed, laid plots for the ruin of the young men. In order to this end, they took care to represent all their hot words on this fubject to Herod ^x, with all the malicious interpretations that words could admit: Which had this effect on their father, that he brought Antipater, his eldeft fon by Doris his first wife, whom he had divorced on marrying Mariamne, to court, and placed him over their heads. This did not humble them, but rather provoked them to more intemperate language. Antipater brought his mother Doris, who was ftill alive, alfo to court; and they both, with great cunning

^u Blendel de Sibyllis. Servius & Ruzus in Virgilii *Æneid.* 6. v. 35. & 69. Selmasius in *Solinum*, p. 75. & feqq. Prideaux's *Connection*, part 2. book p. p. 40 621.—635. ^x Joseph *Antiq. lib.* 16. cap. 6.

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cunning and malice, improved every thing the sons of the said Mariamne did or said to enflame their father against them. Agrippa being called out of Asia, Herod waited on him, carrying his son Antipater thither, whom he introduced to Agrippa's favour, and sent him to Rome with him¹; where, by letters recommendatory from his father, he got into the favour of Augustus and of many great men at Rome. But while he was absent, having a view to pave his own way to the kingdom, he ceased not to write letters to his father against the two sons of Mariamne; but concealing his malice against them, he expressed only a concern for his father's safety."

§ 76. Agrippa, on his return to Rome², was sent against the Pannonians, who had revolted³; but on his coming, the rebels being frightened by the terror of his name, submitted to such terms of peace as were required. In his return he fell sick in Campania, and there died. He was the chief favourite of Augustus; and having married his daughter Julia, bore a great part of the burden of the government. On his death Augustus made choice of Tiberius, the son of Livia his wife, by her former husband, as his assistant, though no way equal to that trust, and married him to his daughter Julia, the widow of Agrippa⁴, causing him divorce his former wife, though then big with child by him.

The breach between Herod and his sons by Mariamne still growing wider by means of those who

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 7.

² Ant. C. 12. Herod 26.

³ Dion

Cassius, lib. 54. p. 619, 620. Livii Epitome, lib. 136.

⁴ Sueton. in Octa-

vio, cap. 63. & in Tiberio, cap. 7.

who did ill offices between them, Herod took them with him to Italy*, of purpose to accuse them before Augustus, and brought the cause before him at Aquileia. He charged them that they had carried insolently towards him, and sought to take away his life by poison. Josephus sets forth both the accusation of Herod, and the answer of Alexander his son at large, and in very pathetic terms. Augustus finding that of the main accusation nothing could be proved, but only jealousies, and groundless suspicions, and that the heart of the parent and of his sons relented towards one another, acquitted the young men, reconciled them to their father, and sent them home in terms of friendship. He gave to Herod the half of the revenues of the metal-mines in Cyprus, and the other half to the overseer of the work. On Herod's return to Jerusalem, he called the people together, and related to them the event of his journey; and according to the power given him by Augustus, he named Antipater in the first place to succeed him in the kingdom, and next after him the sons of Mariamne.

After twelve year's time employed in that work, Herod having finished Casarea†, dedicated the place with great solemnity, and with games, after the Roman fashion. Next to Jerusalem it was the most large and magnificent city in all Judea. He built also several other cities, as Antipatris, after the name of his father, Cypron, to bear the name of his mother, and Phasaelis at Jerusalem, after the name of his brother. It was a
fine

* Ant. C. 11. Herod 17.

† Ant. C. 10. Herod 28.

• Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 7, 8.

• Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 9.

fine tower like that of Pharos at Alexandria. Augustus and Agrippa did frequently say, That Herod's magnificence was greater than his revenues could bear, and he deserved an empire as large as Syria and Egypt.

The Jews of Asia and Cyrene being oppressed by the heathens among whom they dwelt, and not permitted to live according to their religion and liberties formerly granted them, addressed themselves to Augustus, and obtained of him an edict in their favours^a, whereby they were allowed to send their sacred money to Jerusalem; not to be judged before any tribunal on their Sabbaths, to live according to their own laws, and had every other thing granted which they desired.

§ 77. Herod was a prince of vast expence and liberality, as appears not only by the temple that he built at Jerusalem, and other cities, palaces and castles that he erected throughout the land of Judea, several of which have been already mentioned; but also by his extensive gifts, buildings and reparations in many parts of the Roman empire, which, if they were not recorded by such an historian as Josephus, might seem incredible. He tells us^b, "That Herod, at Tripolis, Damascus and Ptolemais, built public baths; that he erected the wall at Byblus, the seats, porches, temples, and markets at Berytus, Tyre, Sidon and Damascus. He built a theatre and an aquaduct at Laodicea, a sea-town. At Ascalon he erected sumptuous baths, with pillars of very noble work. To many cities he gave fields, as though they had been

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^a Ant. C. 9. Herod. 29. ^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 10. ^c De bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 16.

in his own kingdom. He gave a yearly maintenance to the baths at Coos; to poor people he gave corn, and to the Rhodians money to build a navy of ships at his own proper charge. He repaired Pythium burnt with fire; he extended his liberality to those of Lycia and Samos, and gave magnificent gifts to the people of Ionia; yea, the Athenians, Lacedæmonians, the Nicopolitans, with those of Myfia and Pergamus received benefits at his hands. He paved a large street in Antioch, which before had been very dirty, with polished marble, and adorned it with galleries, that people might go through it dry in rainy weather." The doing of all these things without and within the kingdom, required a vast treasure of money, which no wonder he was sometimes straitened to find. And hearing that Hyrcanus had found money in David's sepulchre, he with a few trusty friends ventured into the same in the night-time, but found no money there, only some fine garments and ornaments of gold, which he caused carry away: And being terrified, to atone for his fault, he built a sumptuous monument of white marble at the entrance of the sepulchre.

§ 78. These actions at home and abroad made him highly esteemed: But he lost the comfort of the whole, by disturbances in his own family. Salome, Pheroras, and Antipater pursuing their plot against the sons of the executed Mariamne, took care that many false stories concerning them were from time to time carried to the ears of Herod; which so tormented him, that he could neither

ther sleep by night, nor enjoy quiet by day. To make discovery of the imagined treason, he put his own eunuchs and all the confidants of the young princes on the rack; which made them tell many things true or false to be free of torture. Whereupon Alexander his son was cast into prison. He not knowing what to do, wrote four letters to his father, telling him that it was true there was a combination against his life, and that Salome his sister, Pheroras his brother, with Ptolemy and Sappinius his two confidants, were in the conspiracy^a. This had the designed effect, the old suspicious tyrant raged more than ever, even like a mad man, trusting to no body, condemning many to death, and tormenting others, because they would not confess what they knew nothing of; whereby his palace was turned into a slaughter-house; no body durst come into his presence for fear of death or torments, and all were filled with confusion and horror. While he was in this case, tormenting himself and others, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, came to his court^b: His daughter was married to Alexander. On hearing the complaint against his son-in-law, he put on a seeming rage against him, which outdid that of Herod, threatening to take his daughter from him, and using many bitter expressions; which brought Herod to plead for his son: Archelaus finding Herod in this temper, by his good address procured another reconciliation between the old king and his sons^c. Herod being sensible of the kindness Archelaus had done him, in making

peace

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib 16 cap. 11.

^b Ant. C. 8 Herod 30.

^c Ibid cap. 12.

peace in his family, gave this prince great presents; and on his return accompanied him as far as Antioch, where he reconciled him to Titus Volumnius, president of Syria: And because Herod had acquainted Augustus with this second breach in his family, he thought fit also to go to Rome, and give him an account of the reconciliation.

§ 79. While Herod was absent, the thieves of Trachonitis taking the advantage, returned to their old trade of robbing all parts of Judea and Coele Syria that lay within their reach, which created this king a great deal of trouble. Their ring-leaders were entertained by Syllaeus, who governed Syria under Obodas. This Syllaeus hated Herod, because though he had obtained the consent of Salome his sister for marriage, yet Herod stopped the match, unless Syllaeus would turn a Jew, which he durst not do for fear of the Arabians; whereupon he was married to Alexas, a confidant of Herod's. Upon his return from Rome into Judea, Herod applied himself to punish the Trachonite thieves: But not being able to come at them by reason of the protection given them in Arabia, he ruined all their families and kindred that he could find in any place of Trachonitis. The thieves being exceedingly exasperated at this, renewed their inroads upon Judea in a desperate manner, and did great damage to the country.

The re-edifying of the temple by Herod being finished at the end of nine years and a half from the beginning of that work, Herod celebrated the dedication thereof with solemnity, which was the greater,

1 Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16 cap. 13.

2 Ibid. cap. 11 & 13.

greater¹, because it did fall on the same day of the year on which he received the crown. Josephus says, " 'Tis reported, that during the building of the temple, it never rained by day, but only by night, that the work might not be interrupted." Such reports the reader may believe as he pleaseth.

This year died Horace², that eminent poet, and Mæcenæ his great patron³, who, next to Agrippa, was the greatest favourite of Augustus, and was always a true and faithful counsellor to him.

§ 80. Herod being still vexed with the Trachonite thieves, who had taken shelter in Arabia, applied to Saturninus and Volammius, the Roman governors in Syria, with complaints against Syllæus for protecting them⁴; and at the same time commenced a suit against him, for a debt of sixty talents for the service of King Obodas. Syllæus was forced to appear before the presidents of Syria at Berytus; and on Herod's making good his allegations, was obliged to pay the debt in thirty days, and to deliver up the fugitives that were in the dominions of Obodas. Failing of both these engagements, he fled to Rome: Whereupon Herod applied himself to the Roman governors in Syria; and having got their licence to right himself by arms, he marched into Arabia with an army, destroyed Repta, the nest of those thieves, and slew as many of them as fell into his hands, with Nacebus, an Arabian captain, and five and twenty of his men⁵; and then marched back into

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B b

Judea,

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14. in fine. ² Suetonius in vita Horatii.

³ Dion Cassius, lib. 55. p. 612. ⁴ Ant. C. 7. Herod 31. ⁵ Joseph.

Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 13. ⁶ Ibid. cap. 14.

Judea, placing three thousand Idumæans in Trachonitis, to hinder these thieves from their depredations. At Rome Syllæus having received information of all this, put on mourning, and went to Augustus, magnifying the injuries Herod had done to Arabia; that he had ravaged and ruined the whole country, pillaged Repta of a vast treasure, killed 2,500 Arabians, and with them Nacebus his kinsman^a. Augustus crediting the truth of the story, wrote a very sharp letter to Herod, who for some time, upon this account, was out of his favour, till at length the emperor was better informed of the truth of the matter. In the mean time died Obodas, king of the Nabathæan Arabs. Syllæus had contrived his death before he left the country, and went to Rome to procure the succession when it should happen: But the Nabathæans, without making any application to Augustus, placed on the throne of the deceased one Æneas, who, by a name common among the Arabian kings, was called Hareth, in Greek Aretas.

Augustus taking an account of all the inhabitants of Rome, found them to amount to four millions, two hundred and thirty-three thousand people^b. According to Suetonius^c, this emperor three times made a Census; the first and last with a colleague in the consulship, and the second alone; which seems to be this of which we are speaking. The empire of Rome by this time was become very great, comprehending the best part of Europe, Asia and Africa, near four thousand miles in

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 15. ^b Græti Inscr. p. 130. Usserii annales ad Annum M. 3996. p. m. 563. Vide Isaac. Vossium de magnitudine orbis Romæ. ^c Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 27.

in length, and about the half in breadth; the revenues thereof amounted to about forty millions Sterling.

§ 81. Tiberius, the step-son and son-in-law to Augustus, in some discontent, either because he observed Caius and Lucius, grand-children to the emperor, preferred to him *, or from displeasure with Julia his wife, whom he durst not accuse, nor yet liked to bear †, or some other cause, left Rome and retired to Rhodes, on pretence there to improve himself in his studies; where he continued for about seven years in a private life. He had a great difficulty to obtain Augustus's consent to his retirement, but greater afterwards to gain his permission to return.

At this time Herod was involved in great perplexities. His quarrels with the sons of the executed Mariamne revived; Eurycles the Lacedæmonian blew the coal: And Herod being out of favour with Augustus, on account of Syllæus's information, the Trachonites took the advantage ‡, and overpowering his Idumæan guards, began their depredations again. Herod durst not revenge himself on them for fear of offending the emperor. He sent two embassies to Rome to remove these prejudices; but none of them could obtain an audience, which encouraged the thieves to great insolencies. At length he employed Nicolaus Damascenus the historian; who on his coming to Rome, durst not directly apply to Augustus, but joining with the ambassadors of the Nabathæans, sent to compliment the emperor for

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their

* Ant. C. 6. Herod 32.

† Suetonius in Tiberio, cap. 10.

‡ Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 99.

§ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 15, 16.

their new king's accession to the throne, and to accuse Syllæus for killing Obodas their late king. He undertook to manage their cause, and resolved to bring in the affair of Herod by a side wind. But Augustus would receive no compliments nor letters in name of Aretas, because he had entered on the government without his consent; yet he appointed a day for hearing the accusation against Syllæus. Nicolaus, in management of this cause, declared the grievous crimes that Syllæus had been guilty of, and that he had most audaciously imposed on Augustus himself in the account he had given of the affair of the Trachonites, which was all false. The emperor being startled at this, desired Nicolaus to make out that point: Which he having done so fully, and proved his allegations by the sentences and letters of the Roman presidents in Syria, so that the accused then present could not contradict one article of what had been advanced; Augustus gave sentence against Syllæus, "That he should be carried back into Arabia, should pay his debt due to Herod, and after that should be put to death;" which was accordingly executed upon him.

By this Augustus being again reconciled to Herod², and being grieved that, upon the credit of Syllæus's false accusations, he had writ so severely to him, resolved to make him amends, by expelling Aretas, and giving him the kingdom of the Nabathæan Arabs. But while he was thinking of this, letters were given from Herod, full of complaints against Alexander and Aristobulus, his sons

¹ Strabo, lib. 16. p. 781.

² Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 16.

sons by Mariamne, and desiring the emperor's leave to proceed criminally against them. Upon perusing these letters, Augustus considering Herod's age, and his present misfortunes, as to his children, thought it not proper to burden him with the affairs of a new kingdom; and therefore changing his design, he accepted of the presents offered by the Nabathæan ambassadors, which were very rich, particularly a fine crown of gold, and confirmed Aretas in his kingdom. However, he wrote a kind letter to Herod, wherein he condole his misfortune as to his sons, and gave him full liberty to proceed against them as their crime should deserve, advising him to call a council at Berytus, and there, with the assistance of the governors of the neighbouring provinces, together with Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and other persons of honour therein named, to hear and finally determine the matter.

Herod being well pleased with this letter, immediately summoned a council to meet at the place mentioned, calling to it Saturninus and Volumaius, governors in Syria, and all others who were named in the emperor's letter, except Archelaus king of Cappadocia, who being Alexander's father-in-law, seemed to be too much engaged by that relation, to be an impartial judge in that affair. The council being convened, Herod accused his sons with great vehemence^a; and though there was but little true in all that he alleged, save only that they designed to have retired out of Judea from their father's tyranny;

B b 3

yet

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 17.

yet the majority of the council being overborne by Herod, passed a sentence of condemnation against his sons Alexander and Aristobulus, leaving to Herod to execute it as he should think fit: Whereupon sending them to Sebaste, he caused them both to be there strangled; yea, he caused Tyro and his son, with three hundred others to be put to death, only because they did plead for the life of these unfortunate princes. In this tragedy, Salome the sister of Herod, acted the chiefest part. She was a crafty and malicious woman, ever busy where any mischief was to be done, and by humouring her brother, maintained her interest with him as long as he lived.

§ 82. The sons of Mariamne being now cut off, and Antipater having nothing to stop his way to the crown but the life of Herod his father, he entered into a conspiracy with Pheroras his uncle, to dispatch the old king * ^b by poison. Though Pheroras had always found Herod a kind brother to him, yet he was at present very much out with him on account of the wife he had lately married. On the death of Pheroras's first wife, Herod offered him one of his daughters by Mariamne; but he was so entangled with love to a maid-servant, that he rejected the king's daughter; whereupon she was given to Phasaël, the son of Phasaël, Herod's elder brother. However, Herod after some time proposed to him another daughter, and this marriage he promised to solemnize in a month's time, but when that time was expired, he refused to perform his engagement,

* Ant. C. 5. Herod. 33. ^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 1. ^c Ibid. lib. 16. cap. 11.

ment, being unwilling to put away the maid-servant he had married. This widening the breach, Antipater took the occasion to engage Pheroras in his designs. Another occasion also contributed to this difference: The whole nation of the Jews being called to swear allegiance to Augustus and Herod^d, the Pharisees, to the number of six thousand persons, refused the oath, upon a notion that it was against their law to yield allegiance to any prince who was not of the stock of Israel. Herod imposed a great fine upon them for this contumacy; which Pheroras's wife, out of her great zeal for that sect paid down, and they to requite her, pretended by a prophetic spirit to foretel, "That God would transfer the kingdom from the family of Herod to that of Pheroras." Herod having got notice of this by Salome, several of the Pharisees were put to death, and with them Carus and Bagoas the eunuch; and Pheroras was charged to put away his wife, or the king would never shew favour to him as a brother; but Pheroras told he would rather die than live without his beloved wife. Herod resenting this answer, forbade Pheroras his house, and discharged all his friends from having any correspondence with him. These things made Antipater and Pheroras join in counsel to cut off Herod by poison: Meantime Antipater went to Rome, and Pheroras retired to his tetrarchy, where he took sickness and died.

Upon his death, two of his freed men made heavy complaints to Herod, that their master had
been

^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 3.

been poisoned by his own wife^c. Herod making diligent enquiry into this matter, put several to torture, and thereby came to the discovery of the plot that was laid against himself by Antipater, Pheroras and others, to cut him off by poison. The deadly poison was found to have been brought out of Egypt, from Theudion the brother of Doris, by Antiphilus the brother of Antipater. Pheroras's relict confessed that she had the poison delivered to her to keep, but that her deceased husband repenting of the plot on his brother's kind visiting him in his sickness, she by his direction did cast the poison into the fire, excepting a small part she had reserved for herself to make use of it if there should be occasion. By this it was made out, that Antipater having procured the death of the two brothers to make his way to the crown, had for the same end laid a most wicked plot for poisoning his father, and retired himself to Rome till the parricide should be acted. Upon this discovery, Herod spoils Doris, that had been his wife, of her ornaments, and thrusts her out of the palace; puts away also Mariamne the priest's daughter, his present wife, as conscious of the treason; scores her son out of his testament, deprives Simon the son of Boethus his brother-in-law of the high-priesthood, and placeth Matthias the son of Theophilus in his room.

§ 83. At this time Zacharias saw the vision in the temple mentioned by the evangelist Luke i. 5, —22. Zacharias being of the course of Abiah^d, when

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17, cap. 6. ^d 1 Chron. xxiv. 10.

when it came to his share to offer upon the altar of incense ^f; the angel Gabriel, who had before foretold the coming of the Messias to Daniel ^h, appeared to him, and foretold the birth of his son, Christ's fore-runner, to come in the spirit and power of Elias, to be born of his wife Elizabeth, though she had been before barren, and advanced in years; which promise Zacharias not firmly believing, was struck dumb till the same was accomplished.

Next year the temple of Janus was shut at Rome ⁱ. They used to lay open its gates in the time of war, and shut them up in times of peace. They had been only five times shut since the building of the city: First, in the reign of Numa ^j; Secondly, after the end of the first Punic war ^k; Thirdly, after Augustus had vanquished Anthony and Cleopatra ^l; Fourthly, after Augustus's return from the war with the Cantabrians in Spain ^m; and the fifth time was in this present year ⁿ; for at this time there was a general peace all the world over for twelve years together, which was a proper season to usher in Christ our Lord the Prince of Peace.

For in the sixth month after the angel Gabriel had appeared to Zacharias in the temple, he was sent to Nazareth, a city of Galilee, to Mary, a virgin of the house of David, espoused to Joseph, of the same lineage, to declare to her the good tidings, that of her was to be born the Son of God,

^f Exod. xxx. 1, 8. ^h Dan. ix. 21, — 27. ⁱ Anno ante Æram Christi vulgar 4. Herod 34. ^j Plutarch in Numa. Livius, lib. 1. ^k Florus, lib. 2. cap. 3. ^l Dion Cassius, lib. 5. p. 514. ^m Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 20. ⁿ Ibid. cap. 22.

God, Luke i. 26,—36. by the *Holy Ghost* coming upon her, and the power of the Highest overshadowing her.

Cæsar Augustus, at this time, issued out a decree that all the world should be taxed, and this taxing was made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria, Luke ii. 1, 2. This is the same Census that we have before^o observed to have begun three years ago. But the account being very particular, (for the censors took notice, and made registration of all the Roman citizens, their wives and children, with the age, qualities, trades, offices, and estates real and personal^p of all of them) three years were employed in this work before they came to Bethlehem, to which Joseph and Mary, being of the house and lineage of David, originally belonged. Tertullian^q tells us, that the Census was made under Augustus by Sentius Saturninus, president of Syria. Augustus was then composing a book^r, containing an exact survey and description of the whole Roman empire; and in order to this, it was necessary that there should be an accurate account of Judea, which was then a kingdom depending upon the empire as well as the provinces that were under Roman governors, though, perhaps, the Romans did not levy money of the people in Judea till about eleven years after this, when Archelaus being banished, Quirinius, called in Greek Cyrenius, was governor or procurator of Judea. This makes the account given

^o See page 374.

^p Florus, lib. 2. cap. 6. Cicero de Legibus, lib. 3.

^q Adversus Marcionem, lib. 4. cap. 19. Operum Tertulliani p. m. 513.

^r Sueton in Octavio, cap. 101. Tacitus Hist. lib. 5. cap. 11. Dion Cassius, lib. 56. p. m. 677.

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given by Josephus^c of this matter agree with that of the evangelist Luke^f. And it needs not seem strange, that so exact a survey of the Roman empire cost several years labour, when we consider that Joab was nine months and twenty days in taking up a list of the men fit for war in the ten tribes of Israel^u. And when a survey of England was made by William the Conqueror in that called Domesday-book^x, it was six years in making.

§ 4. In the declining part of Augustus's reign^a, the great ambassador of Heaven, our Lord Jesus, was sent into the world to publish the glad tidings of salvation, born in the fulness of time, at Bethlem, of the blessed virgin Mary; and being wrapped in swaddling clothes, was laid in a manger, because there was no room for him in the inn^v. This was a time of universal joy. The angels revealed his birth to the shepherds, saying, *Fear not: I bring you glad tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For to you is born in the city of David a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord.* This was followed by a triumphant song of the heavenly host, praising God, and saying, *Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good-will towards men.* In the eighth day after his birth he was circumcised, and his name called Jesus^z. Wise-men out of the east, following the guidance of a star, came and worshipped Christ at Bethlem^a, presenting unto him gold, frankincense and myrrh. At the end of forty days after his birth, his pa-
rents

^c Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 1. ^e Chap. ii. 1, 2. ^u Compare 2 Sam. xxiv. 8, 9. with 1 Chron. xxi 3. 6. ^x Spelman's Glossary on the word Domesday. ^a Anno Christi vero 1. Herod 38. ^v Luke ii. 6,—14. ^z Luke ii 21. ^a Matth ii 1,—12.

rents presented him in the temple to the Lord, offering, according to the law^b, a pair of turtle-doves or two young pigeons^c; for being poor, they were not able to give a richer sacrifice. When they brought the child Jesus to the temple, Simon, a just and devout man, to whom it was revealed that he should not die before he had seen the Lord's Christ, took the child into his arms, blessing God, and prophesying concerning Christ and his mother. Anna also, the daughter of Phannuel, gave thanks unto the Lord, and spake of him to all that waited for redemption in Jerusalem. And when Joseph and Mary had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned unto Galilee, to their own city Nazareth.

Herod being alarmed with the birth of one who was to be king of the Jews, and thinking Jesus to be still at Bethlehem, caused *kill all the children in that city, and the coasts thereof, from two years old and under*^d. Which fact is attested by Macrobius a heathen^e. But of the confirmation of these passages of the New Testament history by the testimony of the Jews and heathens, I have discoursed in another essay^f; and therefore shall not insist on it here, nor on these remarkable steps of divine providence, which did promote the overthrow of heathenish idolatry, and the conversion of the Gentiles^g. The holy angels, who are ministers to the Lord, took a tender care of our Redeemer in his infancy; for *an angel appeared to Joseph, saying, Arise, take the young child and*

^b Lev. xii.
^c *ibid.*, lib. 2. cap. 4.
 chap. 3.

^d Luke ii. 22.—39.

^e *Propagat. of Christianity*, chap. 1.

^f *Math.* ii. 16.

^g *Satur-*

^h *Ibid.*

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cap. 7

and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word; for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him^b. Then he arose, and took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt, and was there until the death of Herod.

§ 85. This leads me to go on with the history of the Jews. I have hitherto deduced a narrative of affairs in several nations of the heathens, so far as authors give us light concerning them, as well as of the transactions of the church of God before the coming of our Saviour to enlighten the Gentile world. But in the following part of this work, I design as far as conveniently I can to confine myself to the history of the Jews, leaving other affairs to those who write the history of the Christian Church.

We have already observed how Herod discovered that his son Antipater had prepared a deadly poison, in conjunction with others, to carry off his aged father out of this world. Antipater returning from Rome, and not knowing that the plot had been laid open in his absence, on his arrival at his father's palace at Jerusalem, he was there arrested and taken into custody. Next day his father accused him before Quintilius Varus, newly arrived in those parts, to succeed Sentius Saturninus as president of Syria. Nicolaus Damascus prosecuted the accusation in a large speech^a; and Antipater not being able to purge himself of what was alledged, the poison was brought forth, and given to a condemned malefactor, whereby he was immediately killed. Antipater

^a Matth. ii. 13.—15. ^b See page 379.
cap. 7, 9. & de bello, Jud. lib. 1. cap. 20.

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17.

Antipater being cast in chains, was sent to Augustus with an information of the whole affair, and Varus went to Antioch to take care of the government of Syria. New letters arriving from Egypt, gave a further discovery of the treason; these were also sent to Rome. Augustus having considered the whole affair, punished one Acme with death for being conscious to the crime, but sent Antipater back to Jerusalem, allowing his father either to banish or put him to death as he pleased. Herod being at this time under the sickness of which he died, recovered his spirits a little by the pleasure he took in Augustus's letters, and called for an apple and a knife whereby to pare it; and seeing no body in the room, he designed to have given himself a mortal wound with the knife, but was hindered by Achiabus his nephew. Upon this, a noise arising that the king was dead, Antipater offered a bribe to his jailor to set him free, that he might seize the crown. But the jailor informing Herod, the old tyrant lifted himself upon his elbow, and commanded one of his guards presently to kill Antipater¹, and bury his body in the castle of Hyrcanion without any honour; which was accordingly performed five days before his own death.

While Herod lay sick unto death, Judas, the son of Sariphaeus, and Matthias, the son of Margalothus, interpreters and teachers of the law among the Jews, inculcated upon their scholars, and other young men in the place, how many things the king had done contrary to the law, which

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 9. De bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. ult.

which they ought to testify against, even with the hazard of their lives; and particularly, that he had set up a golden eagle over the great port of the temple. Meantime a noise being spread that the king was dead, the young men assembled, pulled down the eagle, and hewed it all in pieces. Herod being acquainted of this, called the governors of the Jews, and expostulated with them about this commotion, speaking to them out of his couch; and saying, the young men had destroyed these things which he had dedicated to God. The governors fearing the king's cruel temper, told, they would not justify the action; it was done without their consent, and deserved punishment: And the king, to shew his resentment, caused Matthias to be deprived of the high-priesthood, as privy to, or not hindering what the young men had done, substituting Joazar, the brother of Mariamne his wife, daughter to Simon, the son of Boethus, in his room: And as to Matthias, the son of Margalothus, and his associates^m, he caused them all to be burnt to death.

§ 86. Herod's disease grew still more and more bitterly violent, God exacting vengeance upon him for his grievous enormities. He had a slow feverⁿ, not shewing itself so much to the outward touch, as more grievously burning him within. He had a vehement *bulimia*, or canine appetite for meat, which nothing could satisfy. His bowels were ulcerated, especially the colon-gut; from whence he suffered grievous pains. His feet were swollen, whence issued a phlegmatic shining humour.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 8.

ⁿ Ibid. & de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 21. Eusebii Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 8.

mour. The disease also seized the lower part of the belly; and an ulcer broke out in his genitals, breeding worms and lice, with a filthy priapism. He had a troublesome flux of rheum, accompanied with an asthma, with a stinking, unfavoury breath; and the patient not having strength to bear all this, there followed a convulsion of all the parts of the body. Thus he died in horrid pain and torment, smitten of God for his enormous iniquities, which is the fate of many persecutors. His death happened in the seventieth year of his age; after he had reigned from the time of his being declared king at Rome thirty-seven years, and from the death of Antigonus thirty-four^a.

In his whole sickness he was of an uneasy mind, apprehending that he became contemptible in the eyes of the Jews, and that the whole nation took pleasure in any misfortune that befel him. Though his disease was inveterate, he used all the help and medicines that his physicians could afford him, went and bathed in the warm waters of Callithoe; but all to no purpose. When he found himself a-dying, he shewed his cruel temper by this project: He summoned all the principal men in every corner of Judea, commanding their appearance at Jericho, where he then lay, on pain of death. On their arrival he shut them all up in the Hippodrome, or place for tilting and horse-races, and then sending for Salome his sister, and Alexas her husband^b, he commanded them as soon he should be dead, to send his soldiers in upon these men, and kill every one of them; "For this, said he, will

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 16. ^b Ibid. cap. 8. & de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 21.

will provide mourners for my funeral all over Judea, and make every considerable family to mourn whether they will or not." Having adjured them to do this, he gave up the ghost and died. But Salome and Alexas were not wicked enough to perform what they had promised; for as soon as Herod was dead, they opened the Hippodrome, and permitted every man, shut up in it, to go home to his own business. These cruelties which Herod practised against his own family, his wife and children, and did and ordered to be done against the best people in Judea, takes off all manner of objection against the truth of his murdering the innocents at Bethlehem, and shews that there could be nothing so cruel and barbarous but this great, wicked man was capable of doing it.

Herod had nine wives¹, and by them many children². Three of his sons he put to death, viz. Alexander, Aristobulus and Antipater: Of the rest of his posterity I shall only notice these who are mentioned in the New Testament. Of Malthace, one of his wives, he had Archelaus³, and Herod Antipas⁴. By Cleopatra, another of his wives, he had Philip⁵, and by Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-priest, he had Herod Philip⁶. Aristobulus, whom Herod had put to death, had by Berenice his wife, King Agrippa, who slew James the brother of John, and afterwards was smitten of God at Casarea⁷, and Herodias his sister. She first married Herod Philip, her uncle, and afterwards eloped from him to mar-

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¹ Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. I. cap. 18. ² Basnage's History of the Jews, book I. p. 27. ³ Matth. II. 23. ⁴ Matth. xiv. 1, 3, 6. ⁵ Luke III. 1. ⁶ Matth. xiv. 3. Mark. vi. 17. ⁷ Acts xii. 1, 2, 20, 23.

ry Herod Antipas, his brother. By her first husband she had Salome, who danced off John Baptist's head, for reproving Herod Antipas * for incestuous adultery with her mother. Of this King Agrippa I. called also Herod, was born King Agrippa II. † before whom Paul pleaded his cause, and his two sisters Drusilla and Berenice; the first of whom was wife to Felix^b, the procurator of Judea, and the other was present with her brother at Cæsarea^c, when Paul's cause was heard before him.

Herod, by his last testament, (for he oftener than once changed it, on occasion of condemning his sons) left^d Archelaus to be king of Judea, Idumæa and Samaria, Herod Antipas to be tetrarch of Galilee and Pera; and to Philip he gave the provinces of Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, Batanæa and Paneas. Thus was his kingdom divided. He gave to his sister Salome, Jamnia, Azotus and Philadelphia, with fifty thousand crowns of gold. He provided his other kinsmen in money and revenues. To Augustus he gave ten millions of drachms in silver, besides a great quantity of gold and silver plate, with precious moveables; and to Livia, Cæsar's wife, he bestowed five millions of drachms or thereby. Archelaus gave his father a magnificent funeral, where the procession was made from Jericho to the castle of Herodium, the place of interment. The corps was laid on a gilded litter, adorned with gold and precious stones, the body lying on a bed of purple, with a crown

^a Math. xiv. 6. — ^b Acts xv. & xvi. — ^c Acts xvii. 34. — ^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 10. & de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 31.

at the head, and a sceptre and diadem of pure gold in the right hand. About the bier were the sons and kinsmen of the deceased, with his guards; and after it the soldiers, distinguished by their habits and nations, and five hundred servants carrying perfumes. Herod's testament was of no effect till it was confirmed by Cæsar; and the emperor did not think fit to make Archelaus a king, but gave him Samaria, Judea and Idumæa, with the title of *Ethnarch*, or *Prince of the Nation*, only promising to make him a king, if he made himself worthy of it by his virtue. This proves that Judea was then a kingdom depending upon the Roman empire. Indeed it was both depending upon, and tributary thereto, ever since Pompey conquered Jerusalem; which, though it be against the notion of Harduin, the Jesuit^d, yet 'tis evident from the whole history since the time of Pompey. Herod the Great durst not condemn any of his sons, Alexander, Aristobulus, nor Antipater to death till he got the Emperor Augustus's allowance; and in all the processes he made against them, we have seen how careful he was to have his consent. The Romans made him a king; and because he was careful and capable to advance the interest of their great men Anthony and Octavianus, they continued him in the power as long as he lived, but could have deprived him as they did his son Archelaus afterwards, if they had pleased. In short the sceptre had been departing from Judah, ever since the time of Pompey, to make way for the coming of the Messiah, as hath been

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^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 13.^e De Nummis Herodiadum.

been before^a observed. The curious, who desire to see the notions of Harduin more fully examined and confuted, may consult the learned M. Bafnage^b. I go on with our history.

§ 87. After Herod's death, Joseph being warned by an angel in a dream, arose and took the young child and his mother, and returned out of Egypt into the land of Israel^c. He was afraid to return to Jerusalem, lest Archelaus, who there reigned, should act conformable to the hatred and cruelty of his father; but he turned aside to the parts of Galilee, and dwelt at Nazareth. There none of Herod the Great's posterity were; for Herod Antipas, who was afterwards tetrarch of that country, was then at Rome, soliciting the emperor to bestow the whole kingdom upon him, according to his father's first testament.

As soon as the mourning for the death of Herod was over, which continued seven days, Archelaus feasted the people, and gave them abundance of fair words; and the soldiers promised fidelity to him. Meantime there arose a sedition among the Jews, complaining that Judas the son of Sarpatus, and Matthias the son of Margalothus, with these who joined them, were unjustly put to death, for cutting in pieces the golden eagle, and demanding a new high-priest. Archelaus endeavoured to pacify them, but in vain: For at last matters came to this pass, that he sent in his army upon them about the time of the passover, who killed three thousand of these male contents near the temple, putting the rest to flight^d. This being done,

^a See page 215. ^b History of the Jews, book 2. ^c Matth. ii. 19,—23.

^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 11.

done, Archelaus embarked for Rome, leaving Philip, his brother, to govern Judea in his absence, taking with him Malthace, a Samaritan, his mother, (who died at Rome) Nicolaus, the Damascene, and Ptolemas, his father's advocates, and many of them friends. With him also went Salome his aunt, Herod's sister, and her children, with several of her creatures, pretending to assert Archelaus's right to the kingdom, but really to act for themselves, and to accuse him as author of the sedition and murder lately committed in the temple. At the same time Herod, with his mother Cleopatra, a Jewess of Jerusalem, sailed for Rome. When their cause came to be heard before Augustus, Archelaus meanly fell down at the emperor's feet: But he lifting him up again, allowed him to govern a part of Judea, left to him by his father's testament, promising him royal dignity, if he behaved himself virtuously¹: And thus the affair ended.

In the interim Sabinus came to Judea, to seize for the use of Augustus the money that had been left by Herod. He met with Archelaus at Casarea, and after his departure, Sabinus marched with some Roman soldiers to Jerusalem, to execute his commission, and to make what gain he could for himself. At the feast of Pentecost, a multitude of the Jews gathered together, who with armed force opposed him. A great many were killed; and the tumult became so dangerous, that Varus was obliged to come with two Roman legions and support Sabinus. He quashed this commotion¹,

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and

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 13. de bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 1.

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 11. de bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 2, 3, 4.

and punished the authors of several other insurrections in Judea: One of these seems to have been that of Theudas, mentioned in Gamaliel's speech, Acts v. 36.

§ 88. About this time, one counterfeited himself to be Alexander, the son of Mariamne, whom Herod the Great had caused to be strangled at Sebaste^m. He having got a friend who was well acquainted in Herod's court, pretended that the executioner had spared him, and that he had been privately educated by a friend at Sidon to this occasion. The Jews received him, and gave him money; and he assumed the confidence to sail to Rome, to have his character acknowledged by Augustus: As he passed Crete and Melos, the Jews entertained him as a prince of the blood royal, and gave him liberal presentsⁿ, which those of that nation also did at Puteoli and at Rome. But he did not so easily deceive Augustus, who being well acquainted with Alexander the son of Mariamne, found this pretender to be but a cheat; a person that had been accustomed to labour, as himself confessed on promise of his life, and as appeared also by the hardness of his hands: And therefore the emperor put him to row at the oar in one of his galleys, and caused execute his governor, who, for gain, had carried on this imposture.

After this, Archelaus returned from Rome to Jerusalem, to take possession of the government allotted for him: Where he deposed Joazar the son of Boethus from the high-priesthood^o, establishing

^m See page 378: ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 14. & de bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 3. ^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 15.

blishing Eleazar his brother in his room, and repaired the palace at Jericho.

There is nothing more appears remarkable in the history of the Jews, before the tenth year of Archelaus; when he having committed many male-administrations in the government, ambassadors came to Rome both from the Jews and Samaritans^a to accuse him before Augustus: Whereupon he was called to answer for his tyranny, and not being able to justify himself, but being found guilty of the charge, he was deposed from his principality^b; had his goods confiscated, and was himself banished^c to Vienne in Gaul. He seems to have been a man of a mean spirit, no way capable to serve the Romans as his father Herod had done; and therefore they took the government from him, and reduced Judea to the form of a Roman province. Josephus tells us^d, that before Archelaus was summoned to appear before Cæsar, he reported a strange dream that happened to him, namely, That he saw ten great ears of corn devoured by oxen. One Simon an Essene interpreted the dream thus, that the ten ears signified so many years, after which the prince's condition should be changed to the worse. Glaphyra his wife had the like vision. She had been married first to Alexander the son of Mariamne, and after his execution, she married Juba, the king of Mauritania, and he being also dead, Archelaus divorced his first wife, and took her, though she had been once his brother's wife. He seems to be the same

^a A. C. Vero 12.

^b Joseph. Antig. lib. 17. cap. 13. & de bello Jud. lib. 3. cap. 6.

^c Dion Cassius, lib. 53. p. 649. ^d Loc. cit.

son of Herod, whom Strabo affirms ^c to have died in exile among the Allobrogian Gauls.

§ 89. Upon his banishment, the emperor Augustus appointed Sulpitius Quirinius, who had been once consul at Rome ^d, (who, according to the Greek way of writing, is called by the evangelist ^e, Cyrenius) to be president of Syria ^f, sending him to take possession of that country which Archelaus had governed, with Coponius a Roman knight to assist him as procurator of Judea. They seized Archelaus's goods which had been confiscated, and in a great measure abolished the Jewish policy, establishing the Roman in its stead: For after this, the power of life and death was taken out of the hands of the Jews ^g, and placed in the Roman procurator; and the taxes were paid immediately to the collector and farmers employed by the Roman emperor. The description and registration of every man's possession was made eleven years before by Sentius Saturninus, but the uplifting and levying of the taxes was not put in execution till the country was reduced into the form of a Roman province by Cyrenius, governor of Syria. All this was a further evidence of *the sceptre's departing from Judah, and a lawgiver from between his feet, upon Shiloh, the blessed Messiah, our Saviour's coming.* The raising of the taxes caused great disturbances, many opposing it under one notion or another; yet they submitted to it by the advice of Joazar, the son of Beothus, who by some means was again restored to the high-priesthood. But there arose a Jew, called Judas

^c Strabo, lib. 16. p. 763. ^d Ibid. lib. 12. p. 566. ^e Luke ii. 3.

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 62. & lib. 18. cap. 1. ^g John xviii. 31.

Judas the Galilæite, born in the city of Gamala*, who having Sadoc the Pharisee associated with him, stirred up the people to rebellion, telling, that this tax was a confession of their servitude, and exhorting the people to maintain their liberty. This is the same Judas of whom Gamaliel speaks, Acts v. 37. *After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him. He also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed.* Though Judas and his followers perished, yet both city and country in Judea were full of seditions, murders and robberies. The publicans, who were employed by the Romans in gathering the taxes, were abhorred by the Jews, who looked on their employment not only as hurtful to their estates, but as contrary to their law, and a constant badge of their slavery; and therefore the Pharisees, in the days of the gospel, debated against paying tribute to Cæsar, and reproached our Saviour for conversing with publicans and sinners, though it was in order to convert them.

At the same time that Cyrenius was in Judea settling the tax, he deposed Joazar the son of Boethus from being high-priest*, and appointed Ananias, or Annas, the son of Seth, to succeed him in that office, in which he continued several years.

§ 90. Our Saviour being twelve years of age, went with his parents to the passover, and there appeared (as a prelude of his exercising the prophetic office) sitting in the temple in the midst of the doctors, both bearing, and asking them questions: and all that

heard

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 1. * Ibid. cap. 3. b Luke ii. 41, — 49.

heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers. Thus our Lord came to the temple, and made the glory of the latter house greater than that of the former; which was more fully accomplished in the course of his life. At the same passover, when the priests opened the gates of the temple about midnight, some Samaritans, who had secretly entered into Jerusalem, as soon as the temple was open, spread the bones of dead men amidst the porches, and all over the house; which obliged the priests to keep a more diligent watch than they had done before.

After this Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius succeeded him in the government of Judea. In his time Salome, the sister of Herod the Great, died at Rome, bequeathing to Livia, the wife of Augustus, Jamnia, with the territory thereof, Phasaelis in the plain, and Archelais, where are many palm-trees bearing excellent fruit. Ambivius being recalled, Annus Rufus was made procurator of Judea in his room. In the time of his government died the emperor Augustus Caesar, at Nola in Campania, on the nineteenth day of August, having lived seventy-six years wanting thirty-five days, and governed fifty-six after the murder of Julius Caesar, from the victory at Actium forty-four years. He had his exit in the same room in which his father Octavius had long before expired. Scarce any Roman emperor after him enjoyed so long a reign, or so great

^a Mal. iii. 1. Hag. ii. 6.—9. ^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 1.

^e A. D. 16. ^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 3. ^f A. D. 17. ^f Sueton. in Augusto, cap. 100. ^g Patere. lib. 2. cap. 123. Tacitus, Annal. lib. 1. cap. 6.

great outward prosperity. His grand-children, Caius and Lucius, by Agrippa, and Julia his daughter, had been cut off before this time; and Dion Cassius² insinuates, that this emperor's death was hastened by the contrivance of Livia, his wife, to make way for the succession of her son.

Tiberius, the son of Livia, by her former husband, who had been partner with Augustus in the command of the provinces and armies before, had now the whole empire devolved upon him. He was fifty-five years of age when advanced to this dignity, and reigned twenty-two years, seven months, and seven days³. He sent Valerius Gratus into Judea to be procurator of that province⁴, who removed Ananus, and made Ishmael, the son of Fabius⁵, high-priest in his stead; who was soon changed to make room for Eleazar, the son of Ananus; and he again was removed, and the office bestowed upon Simon, the son of Gamith: But Gratus himself continued in his government eleven years.

About this time † Jairus, a ruler of the synagogue, had an only daughter, whom, twelve years after this, Christ restored to life, Luke viii. 41,—56. And a woman began to be distressed with an issue of blood, whom, after the same number of years, our Lord healed, Mark v. 22,—42.

Valerius Gratus made still more changes †; for he removed Simon, the son of Gamith⁶, and made Caiaphas, son-in-law to Annas, to be high-priest. Gratus being recalled, Pontius Pilate was sent by the

² Lib. 56 p. m. 675.

³ Dion Cassius, lib. 58 in fine, p. m. 733.

⁴ A. D. 19. † Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 3. † A. D. 40. † A. D.

7. † Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18 cap. 3.

the emperor Tiberius to be procurator of Judea in his stead, a man thoroughly prepared for all manner of iniquity. Philo Judæus charges him of rapines, injuries, murders, unjust tormenting, putting men arbitrarily to death without process or sentence of law, selling justice, giving any decree for money, and of excessive cruelty through his whole administration; by which wicked temper he was qualified for giving a most unjust sentence against the Prince of Life.

The Egyptian and Jewish rites were about this time both forbidden by the emperor Tiberius at Rome¹, upon this occasion: A young man, called Decius Mundus, had a mighty passion to enjoy one Paulina, a Roman lady of quality. She refused to gratify him for price, prayer or reward. Whereupon he found means to bribe the priest of the temple of Isis, who persuaded the lady, she being addicted to the Egyptian rites, that the god Anubis would that night feast her in the temple, and lie with her. She thinking herself highly honoured with this offer of a deity, consented to the proposal. But Mundus being concealed in the temple, when the lights were put out, addressed the lady by the name of Anubis, and had his design. Three days after this, Mundus told the story to Paulina; which she was mightily offended with, and threatened revenge. The emperor being informed of what had happened, and having found out the truth by a narrow examination of the priests, he condemned them all to be hanged, the temple to be demolished, the statue of Anubis

to

¹ In legatione ad Galum. ² Sueton. in Tiberio, cap. 36. Seneca, epist. 108. Tacitus, Annal. lib. 2. cap. 85.

to be cast into the Tiber, and Mundus to be banished^a. As to the Jews, a certain fellow, for the breach of the laws in his own country, having fled from it to escape punishment, came and lived at Rome, where he set up for an interpreter of Moses's law, associating with some others who were no better than himself, persuaded Fulvia, a noble Roman lady, to be their scholar, and prevailed with her to send gold and silver to the temple at Jerusalem, which, after they had received, they converted it all to their own use. Tiberius being informed of this by Saturnine, the husband of Fulvia, commanded all Jews^b to depart out of Rome. Of these the consuls chose out four thousand men, whom they sent into Sardinia, and punished divers of them who refused to take the military oath for fear of transgressing the laws of their own country. Thus, says Josephus^c, by reason of the loose behaviour of a few wicked persons, all the Jews were driven out of Rome.

About the same time there were among the Jews at Babylon two brethren very famous, called Asinæus and Anilæus, dwelling at the city Neerda, which is surrounded with the waters of the Euphrates, where the Jews kept a school of great renown. These brethren having made the whole country tributary to them, and defeated an army of one of the princes of Babylon, Artabanus, king of the Parthians^d, mightily desired to see them; and having given them considerable gifts, and committed to them the protection of the province of Babylon, Anilæus continued in this authority

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 4. ^b Ibid. cap. 5. ^c Ibid. cap. 12.

^d Ibid.

the emperor Tiberius to be procurator of Judea in his stead, a man thoroughly prepared for all manner of iniquity. Philo Judæus¹ charges him of rapines, injuries, murders, unjust tormenting, putting men arbitrarily to death without process or sentence of law, selling justice, giving any decree for money, and of excessive cruelty through his whole administration; by which wicked temper he was qualified for giving a most unjust sentence against the Prince of Life.

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^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 4. ^b Ibid. cap. 5. ^c Ibid. cap. 12.

^d Ibid.

thority fifteen years, having all Mesopotamia at his command. But at length having married a Parthian woman, who poisoned his brother Asinæus, his power began to decline, and he, with fifty thousand Jews, was defeated and killed by the Babylonians.

§ 91. John the Baptist, the messenger who prepared the way of our Lord ^{Christ}, did now appear in the spirit and power of Elijah, Mal. iv. 5. Luke i. 17. It is not sufficient for the Jews to alledge, *That Elias is not yet come*: Because, *When the Jews sent priests and Levites to John, to ask him, Who art thou? he confessed, and denied not; but confessed, I am not the Christ. Being again asked, What then? art thou Elias? he said, I am not: But told, I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias, John i. 19,—23.* For here the Baptist opposeth a wrong notion of the Jews, That Elias the Tishbite would come in person before the Messiah. Now John was not Elias the Tishbite, nor was there any need for his coming. But there was a great likeness between John and Elias. Elias was a great prophet; so was John the Baptist, being *filled from the womb with the Holy Ghost*. Elias was a man of great fervour and zeal; so was John. Elias had a girdle of leather about his loins; so had John. If the one had a hairy garment, the other had a garment of camel's hair. If the one was bold in rebuking vice in Ahab, so did the other in Herod. And if the one was hated by Jezabel, so was the other by Herodias. In a word, they were

were both burning and shining lights, condemn-
ers of sensual pleasures, who called men to re-
formation to prevent their ruin. Besides, John
the Baptist exactly fulfilled the prediction of Ma-
lachi, being sent *before the great and terrible day of
the Lord, to turn the heart of the fathers to the chil-
dren, and the heart of the children to their fathers,*
lest the Lord come and smite the earth with a curse.
For he came to turn the Israelites from sin to God
by repentance, to bring them off from rebellion
to obedience, Matth. iii. 1,—9. Luke i. 16, 17.
to prepare their way and lead them in to our Sa-
viour, that if possible the great and terrible day
of the Lord, when he should smite their earth
with a curse, by the destruction of their city of
Jerusalem, their temple and the Jewish state; when
the unfruitful tree was cut up, and the chaff burnt
in the fire¹, yea, and also that their eternal ruin
might be prevented. *See* *Annals* *vol. 1. p. 92.* Our Saviour being now about thirty
years of age, Luke iii. 23. came out of his solitude,
and was baptized by John, the Holy Gholy in
a visible shape descending upon him, and God
by an audible voice testifying, *This is my beloved
son, in whom I am well pleased,* Matth. iii. 13,—17.
The learned primate Usher² remarks, that the
thirtieth and last Jubilee did coincide with the
first year wherein our Lord began to preach the
gospel, and open the door of salvation to both
Jew and Gentile, *to proclaim the acceptable year
of the Lord.* I shall not descend into all the particu-
lars in each year of our Lord's public ministry,
which

¹ See Dr. Kidder's Demonstration of Messias, part 2 p. 457,—504.

² Annals, p. m. 586 edit. Genev. 1722.

which may be had in many commentators, and others who wrote the harmony of the gospels; But I humbly conceive it will not be unacceptable in a work of this kind, to notice the most memorable. We may then observe, That our blessed Saviour, who always went about doing good, in the first year of his ministry (which was also the first year of the seventieth or last of Daniel's weeks, Dan. ix. 27. wherein *he confirmed the covenant with many*) entering into the temple, scourged the buyers and sellers out of it; and to establish his hearers in the faith of this great article, *That he was the true Messiah*, declared, *That his body was the temple of God, which he would raise up in three days*, John ii. 13,—25. He conversed with Nicodemus upon the mystery of regeneration and saving faith, John iii. 1,—21. Then leaving Jerusalem, he came into Judea, and baptized many, John iii. 22. John the Baptist being cast into prison, for his faithful reproving Herod the tetrarch for his incestuous and adulterous marriage with his brother Philip's wife, Mark vi. 17,—20. Matth. xiv. 3,—5. our Lord leaves Judea to go into Galilee, and in his way converts the Samaritan woman, and others at Sychar, John iv. 1,—42. Then he returns to Galilee, where he healed the son of a nobleman who was lying dangerously sick, John iv. 46,—54. Coming to Nazareth, he preached an excellent sermon, Luke x. 15,—30. proving that he himself was the promised Messiah, from Isaiah lxi. 1,—4. Leaving Nazareth, he came down to Capernaum, where he taught on the Sabbath-days; and they were astonished at his doctrine, for *his word was with power*,

power, Luke iv. 31, 32. There he cast out an unclean spirit, healed Simon's wife's mother of a fever, and cured many of divers diseases, Luke iv. 33,--42. When the people pressed upon him to hear the word at the lake of Gennesareth, he entered into Simon's ship, and preached to the multitude on the shore, Luke v. 1,--4. When he had left off speaking, he ordered Simon to launch out into the deep, and let down his net; which being done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes. His disciples being astonished at this, he promiseth to make them fishers of men, Luke v. 4,--11. He cured a man full of the leprosy, so that his fame went through all the country, and multitudes came to hear him, and he healed many, Luke v. 11,--16. Matth. viii. 1,--4. And again, entering into Capernaum, he healed a man sick of the palsy, called Matthew from the receipt of custom, and vindicated his eating with publicans, Luke v. 16,--39. Matth. ix. 1,--13. Mark ii. 1,--18.

§ 93. In the second year of our Redeemer's public ministry at Jerusalem, he healed a man who had laboured under an infirmity thirty-eight years, and had lain long at the pool of Bethesda, and yet was not cured, and vindicated this good work done on the Sabbath-day. He cureth inveterate diseases, healing our souls that have sinned, as well as our body that is diseased, John v. 1,--47. Leaving Jerusalem, he entered into another synagogue and taught, healing also a man whose right hand was withered, Luke vi. 6,--11. Mark iii. 1,--5. Matth. xii. 9,--14. He went into a mountain to pray, called unto him his disciples, and

out of them chose twelve, whom he named Apostles, Luke vi. 12,—16. Mark iii. 13,—19. Coming down from the mountain into the plain, he healed many distressed people, Luke vi. 17,—19. And seeing still multitudes resort to him, he went into a mountain and taught, declaring the characters of those who are truly blessed; and particularly explained the moral law, restoring it to its just authority, and redeeming it from those corrupt interpretations which the masters of the Jewish church had put upon it, not contradicting the law of Moses, but opening the extent and spiritual meaning thereof; where there is more of solid morality, than in all the books of heathen philosophers, Matth. v. vi. vii. Luke vi. 20,—49. When he had ended this sermon, he cleansed the Leper; and entering into Capernaum, cured the Centurion's servant, who was lying sick of the palsy, Matth. viii. 5,—13. Luke vii. 1,—10. And at Naim he restored the only son of a widow woman to life, as he was carried out to be buried, Luke vii. 11,—17. John the Baptist being all this time detained in prison, and hearing of the great fame of our Saviour's actions, sendeth his disciples to him, to whom he gives a clear proof that he was the Messias. And after they were gone, our Lord commends John, and reproveth the cities who would not receive the offers of salvation, Matth. xi. 2,—30. Luke vii. 18,—35. While he sat at meat in the house of a Pharisee, a woman washed his feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head; whose practice he vindicated. *She loved much, for much was forgiven her,* Luke vii. 36,—50. As he journeyed through several

several villages, there was brought to him one possessed with a devil, whom he healed, and vindicated himself from the insolent calumnies of the Pharisees, Luke viii. 1,--3. Matth. xii. 22,--37. Mark iii. 22,--30. When the scribes and Pharisees asked of him a sign, he told them there should none be given them but the sign of the prophet Jonas, typifying his resurrection on the third day, Matth. xii. 38,--45. And when they spoke to him of his mother and brethren, or of his near relations, he said, *Whoever doth the will of my Father in heaven, the same is my mother, sister and brother*, Matth. xii. 46,--50. The same day Jesus went out of the house, and sat by the sea side; great multitudes resorting to him, he went into a ship, and taught the people standing on the shore, explaining to them the excellent parable of the sower of seed, and several others, Luke viii. 4,--18. Matth. xiii. 1,--53. Mark iv. 1,--34. Then passing to the other side, he rebuked the stormy wind, and saved his disciples, Luke viii. 22,--25. Mark iv. 35,--41. Matth. viii. 23,--27. When they had arrived in the country of the Gaderenes, which is over against Galilee, there met him a demoniac, who wore no clothes, out of whom Christ ejected the devils, and permitted them to enter into a herd of swine, Luke viii. 26,--36. Mark v. 1,--16. Matth. viii. 28,--33. The Jews ought not to accuse our Lord for doing an injury to the possessors, since they abhor swines flesh, it was prohibited by the law of Moses, and disallowed either for sacrifice or food; yea, with them, a nourisher of swine (though that was practised in latter times for sale to the Romans and other Gentiles)

tiles) was of an ill name. And their Talmud^a reckons it an infamy like drunkenness or usury. Besides our Lord only did the good work to cure the demoniac. The devils destroyed the herd of swine; and Jesus did not think these unclean creatures worthy his care. We do not accuse Elijah for severity in destroying a captain and fifty men at a time; and why should they blame our Lord for permitting Satan to destroy these ugly swine? To proceed; upon this, the Gadarenes, desired Jesus to depart out of their coasts, and he returned to his own city Capernaum, where he answered John's disciples, shewing why his disciples did not keep frequent fasts, Matth. ix. 14,--17. restored Jairus's daughter to life, and cured a woman diseased with an issue of blood for twelve years, Matth. ix. 18,--26. Luke viii. 41,--56. Mark v. 22,--43. On Jesus departing thence, two blind men followed him, and he healed them, Matth. ix. 27,--31. and went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every disease and sickness among the people, Matth. ix. 35. and sent forth his apostles to preach the kingdom of God, and heal the sick, Luke ix. 1,--5. Matth. x. 1,--42.

About this time Sejanus, the prime minister at Rome, under the emperor Tiberius, being put to death*, the emperor understanding that the crimes which had been alledged against the Jews[†] were forged, he therefore ordered that the governors of the provinces should spare these people, and

^a Talmud Hierosolymmitanum Shekalim. * Tacitus annal. lib. 6. cap. 25. † See page 401.

and allow them to live according to their own rites, which did not² disturb the public peace.

To proceed with our Lord's public ministry, John the Baptist being beheaded by Herod the tetrarch, to please the infamous Herodias, Matth. xiv. 6,—11. Jesus went up into a mountain, where he sat with his disciples and taught them, and the passover, the feast of the Jews was nigh; there he fed five thousand people with five loaves, and two small fishes; and they did all eat, and were filled; and they took up of the fragments that remained, twelve baskets full, John vi. 1,—21. Matth. xiv. 15,—22. Mark vi. 35,—45. Luke ix. 12,—17. Next day passing over to the other side, he preached at Capernaum an excellent sermon concerning the bread of life, John vi. 22,—71.

§ 94. In the third year of Christ's ministry, being the thirty-third of his age, and the third year of the last of Daniel's seventy weeks, the scribes and Pharisees complaining that Christ's disciples did eat with unwashen hands, our Lord told these complainers, *That they rejected the commands of God to keep their own traditions*, Mark vii. 1,—23. Matth. xv. 1,—20. Then departing into the borders of Tyre and Sidon, he did cast the devil out of the daughter of the Syro-Phœnician woman, Mark vii. 24,—30. Matth. xv. 21,—28. At Decapolis he made the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak, Mark vii. 31,—37. A great multitude having staid with him three days in the desert, he fed four thousand with seven loaves, and a few small fishes, and they took up of the broken meat, se-

D d 3

² Philo in Legatione ad Caium.

ven baskets, Mark viii. 1,—9. Matth. xv. 32,—38. At Bethsaida he cured a blind man, by touching him, and putting a little spittle on his eyes, Mark viii. 22,—26. After this, we have the remarkable history of his transfiguration, where we have a view of his glory, Matth. xvii. 1,—13; Mark, ix. 1,—13. Luke ix. 28,—36. And his sermon at the feast of tabernacles, John vii. with another, wherein he proveth himself to be the light of the world, John viii. As he passed by, he observed a man who was blind from his birth. Jesus having compassion, restored him to his sight, and the poor man was so in love with our blessed Saviour, as neither the reproaches nor persecutions of the Jews could hinder him from worshipping and following him, John iv. He recommends himself as the true shepherd of the sheep, John x. He directs the lawyer what to do to inherit eternal life, and how to know who is his neighbour; and commended Mary for chusing the better part, which should not be taken away from her, Luke x. 25,—42. He directs his disciples how to pray, Luke xi. 1,—13. exhorts to repentance, cures a woman who was bowed with a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and persuades all men to enter in at the strait gate, Luke xiii. He heals a man sick of the dropy on the Sabbath-day, defending the practice. He explains the parable of those who are called to the wedding, and sheweth the necessity of bearing our cross, Luke xiv. By the parables of the lost sheep, the lost groat, and the prodigal son, he declareth the riches of the free grace of God to miserable lost sinners, Luke xv. By the parable of the unjust steward, he exciteth all

to use the world so as not to abuse it. And by the parable of the rich man and poor Lazarus, he directs us to take the warning given us by the written word, that we come not into the place of torment, Luke xvi. He teacheth his disciples to take heed of giving offence, to forgive injuries, to pray for increasing their faith, and to be humble under whatever service they have done to God. He cleanseth ten lepers, of whom only one Samaritan returns to give thanks; and declareth to his disciples when and how the kingdom of God shall appear, Luke xvii. He exhorteth his disciples to frequency and fervency in prayer, by the parable of the importunate widow. He teaches humility by the example of the Pharisee and the Publican, Luke xviii. 1,—14. He ascends to Jerusalem at the feast of the dedication in the winter season, and there proveth himself to be the true Messiah, and the Son of God; upon which the Jews attempted to stone him, but he escaped out of their hands, John x. 32,—42. He healeth many in Judea, beyond Jordan, disputeth with the Pharisees, and explains in what cases divorces may be lawful, Matth. xix. 1,—12. Mark x. 1,—12. He allows little children to come to him; declares what we ought to do to inherit eternal life, with the difficulty that these who possess riches have to enter into the kingdom of God, Luke xviii. 15,—30. Mark x. 13,—21. Matth. xix. 13,—29.

Under the parable of the labourers, he declareth the rejecting of the Jews, and the calling of the Gentiles, that the first shall be last, and the last first, Matth. xix. 30. xx. 1,—16. He raiseth Lazarus out of his grave at Bethany, and restoreth him

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§ 95. In the fourth year of his ministry*, being the year wherein he was crucified, and in the middle of the seventieth week foretold by Daniel, chap. ix. 27. in the first day of unleavened bread, when they had killed the passover, our Lord told his disciples, that with desire he had desired to eat

* See page 362.

this passover with them before he suffered, and then instituted the Lord's supper, Luke xxii. 14,—20. Matth. xxvi. 17,—20. Mark xiv. 12,—16. Judas's treachery being foretold, he went out in order to accomplish it, and supper being ended, Jesus rose, laid aside his garments, took a towel, girded himself, washed his disciples feet, and taught them both by precept and example the great doctrines of humility and brotherly love, John xiii. Then preached a sermon full of consolation to saints, John xiv, xv, xvi, which he concluded with an excellent and mediatorial prayer, John xvii. The rest of his sufferings are so particularly recorded by the evangelists that I need not here enlarge upon them. There we find how he wrestled in an agony, shed great drops of blood in the garden, surrendered himself prisoner, was abused and spit upon in the high-priest's court, prosecuted before Pilate, and had Barabbas, a robber, preferred to him. As also, there we have an account of the sentence most unjustly given against him; of his being scourged, of his carrying his cross, the title over his head, the parting of his garments, the piercing of his side, his tasting vinegar and gall, his dying words, his finishing our redemption, and giving up the ghost, all fully narrated: For the holy apostles and disciples of our Lord thought no shame of their Lord and Master's sufferings; his cross is our glory, and the price whereby our salvation was purchased.

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